Sallustius Crispus

ALL THE

WORKS

OF THAT

Famous Hiſtorian

SALUST.

Containing,

1. The Conſpiracy and War of *CATALINE*, undertaken againſt the Government of the SENATE of *Rome*.
2. The *War* which *JUGURTH* for many years maintained againſt the ſame STATE.

With all his

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS.

TWO

Epiſtles to *CÆSAR* concerning the Inſtitution of a COMMON-WEALTH and one againſt *CICERO*: With Annotations.

To which

is prefixt the Life of *SALUST*.

Made Engliſh according to the preſent Idiom of Speech.

Printed for *R. Wilde*, at the *Map of the World* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard. 1692.

HIC ERIT, VT PERHIBENT DOC-
TORVM CORDA VIRORVM
CRISPVS ROMANA PRIMVS IN
HISTORIA.

*London Printed for Richard Wilde
on Ludgate Hill.*

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To the READER.

AMong the several Histories that Salust wrote when living, by which he acquir'd the Title of Priuce of Historians, there are none that have reach'd our times entire, nor many Ages before, but only the Conspiracy of Catiline, and the War of Jugurth. The rest were stifl'd, as some conjecture, by the Admirers of Cicero and Livy, Mortal Enemies to the Fame of Crispus. The Orations also in his Fragments and his two Epistles to Cæsar are without all doubt his own; So that there is nothing to be question'd but his Declamation against Cicero. Yet that stands fair too in the Opinion of Jerom and Fabius. But let the Nicer Criticks dispute that point; certain it is, that Salust is one of the greatest Latin Authors Extant, both for Stile and Language. Of whom Quintilian says, That Livy was fitter to be read by Boys, then Salust, as being the Nobler Historian of the two, whom rightly to understand both Age and Judgement were requir'd. Conformable to which, L. Vives speaking of this Fam'd Historian, Salust says He, the most florid Writer of the Roman Atchievements, is very frequently thumb'd by Schoolboys, but in my Opinion much more deserves to be handl'd by Men of riper years and understanding.

There are two things, for which Salust is applauded and admir'd above all others, except Thucidides

cidides *of whom he was an imitator*; *Fidelity and Conciſeneſs. As to the firſt,* Vibius Sequeſter *and St.* Jerome *gave him the Encomiums of* Autor Certiſſimus; *and St.* Auſtin *ſtiles him an* Hiſtorian of ennobl'd Truth.

His Conciſeneſs and the Gravity of his Sentences acquir'd him by the unanimous conſent of all the Learned Men of Martial's *Time, to be* Romana Primus in Hiſtoria: *and* Quintillian *affirms the* Saluſtian Brevity *to be ſuch, that nothing can be more perfect to a Learned Ear.*

Nevertheleſs, and altho' theſe curtail'd Sentenſes, theſe unexpected Cadences of Periods, this obſcure brevity of Saluſt, *might well be apprehended and underſtood by them whoſe mother Language was the* Latine *Tongue, yet they that are not accuſtom'd to the natural Idiom of any Speech, will find it a hard task to unravel the Sence of Sentences including much in little. As if theſe Myſtic Authors made it their ſtrife to imitate Nature, that holds her moſt precious Treaſures in the Earth, to make us delve and labour before we can come at 'em. And therefore I cannot chuſe but laugh at thoſe who tell me 'tis an eaſy thing to Tranſlate* Saluſt, *Tranſlate! there's no ſuch thing to be done. For to Tranſlate him word for word into Engliſh, were to ſet the two Languages together by the Ears: You may as well make* Brains *and* Stairs *to Rime, as make that ſenſe in* Engliſh *which is ſence in the Original. As may be ſeen by thoſe Hide-bound Tranſ-*

tions

tionss of Heywood *and* Croſs; *eſpecially the latter; ſo pitiful, that the very Ribbs of verbal Deformity appear through the ſlender skin of the Tranſlation: eſpecially when they come to the knotty Orations and Moral Excurſions of their Author. For his compacted* Latin *is like a ſolid piece of Gum that muſt be melted into Engliſh Phraſe, before it will dlate it ſelf.*

But nothing plagu'd me more then to obſerve that inſipid clutter which that impertinent and trifling Chiurm of Pedants make, that call themſelves Expoſitors: *a ſort of* Piſmires, *whoſe laborious toyl produces nothing but the moſt Chaffy and Husky part of all Learning. They fill the Text with Stars and little Letters; but when you think to meet with a Clue to guide ye through the Labyrinth of the Obſcurity; Heavens! How your expectations are deceiv'd! There's nothing but a ſcuffle about* the Genitive *or the* Ablative *caſe, whether* Locupletum *or* Locupletium; *whether* Locupleti *or* Locuplete; *whether* ac *or* et. *When you look for the unravelling of a dark ſentence,* Satis, *cries* Thomas a Didimus, *is abſent in four Manuſcripts.* Apage At, *cries another in great Wrath: another as furiouſly ſends* Que *to the Gallows, or to uſe their own words,* ad Gemonias Scalas. *Another ſtorms, and ſays it muſt be written* Plancia *and not* Plautia *with a Dipthong: another will have it right or wrong* ab Numidis, *and not* a Numidis; *another tho' it*

coſt him a fall will have it Arteis *and not* Artes; Omneis *and not* Omnes. *Another finds that his changing* ne *into* nec *will do the buſineſs, and then he crows out like a Cock of the Game,* Heureca, Heureca, *as if he had made a new diſcovery of a Fifth part of the Earth: with a thouſand more ſuch Fopperies as theſe. As if it were not better to cite the variations of Manuſcripts, for others to make a judicious choice, or elſe to be careful in Correcting the trueſt Edition, without ſuch a deal of triffling Oſtentation, and bringing all the Old* Roman *Engines upon the Stage of an Annotation to defend an* Autem *or an* Etiam, *in hazard of Eternal Extirpation, All this while not a word of the Authors meaning: not the leaſt Dark-lanthorn Light into the Obſcurity of the Sence. Beſides when that there is a gapp indeed, there like Hounds at a fault, they ſmell about, and ſnuff up their Noſes i'th Air, but all to no purpoſe; they are got into a Wood, and the Game is loſt.*

Thus finding little aid from them, after a more ſerious Study and Meditation I found Saluſt *to be the beſt Expounder of himſelf: only that it would take up a little more Time and Induſtry. Both which produc'd at length this new Attempt to make the choiceſt of the* Latine *Hiſtorians more moderately familiar with the* Engliſh *Tongue. Wherein however I do not think my ſelf ſo abſolute, but that I am ready to ſubmit to any other, who may think to gain a better Credit by correcting what I have done amiſs.*

The

The Life of

C. Saluſtius Criſpus.

C. Saluſtius Criſpus (*not to trifflle as* Voſſius *and others do, whether* Saluſtius *were ſpelt with a double or ſingle* L) *was born at* Amiternum (*formerly a Great City of the* Sabines; *now* S^to^ Victorino *a ſmallage in that part of* Italy *called* La Sabina) *the next year after* Catullus *was born at* Verona, *or the ſame Year that* Athens *wastaken and Sack'd by* Sylla's *Army.*

He was deſcended of the Noble Family of the Saluſtii, *which for a long ſeries of years retain'd the ſplendor of its antient Dignity. It is by all allow'd that from his Childhood he had his Education in* Rome, *and that his Genius led him to the milder Studies of the Liberal Arts. But hapning to live in thoſe unfortunate times of Faction and Popular ſiding, when Vertue and Learning wanted their due Encouragements (His Inclinations being deprav'd in a City ſo corrupted) he was eaſily vanquiſh'd by voluptuous Allurements. So that being call'd to public Employment, ſo ſoon as his years render'd him capable of it, he ſuffer'd many Misfortunes, through the Iniquity of the Times; in regard the Commonwealth was then turmoyl'd and beſet with* Sylla's *Party.*

However

However this is certain that Saluſt *had a ready Wit, and was well verſed in all kind of Learning, though his chiefeſt Excellency lay in writing Hiſtory. Wherein he was much beholding to* Atteius Philologus *the Grammarian, who furniſh'd him with an Epitome of all the* Roman *Atchievements to pick and chooſe what he pleas'd himſelf.*

He was a Tribune of the People the ſame year that Clodius *was ſlain by* Milo, *Seven hundred and two from the building of the City; at what time* Pompey *the Great was Conſul alone for ſeveral Months without any Collegue. In that Tribuneſhip, wherein hs got no repute at all, he was a great Enemy as well to* Cicero *as* Milo; *for that being taken with* Fauſta, *the Daughter of* L. Sylla, *he was order'd to be well ſcourg'd by* Milo; *and not ſo diſcharg'd neither, till he had paid a ſum of Money. For which* Gellius *brings the Teſtimony of* M. Varro, *in a Book which he Entitled* de Pace. *And ſeveral other Authors, among the reſt the Author of the Invectives againſt* Saluſt *aſcrib'd to* Cicero, *ſays, That he was expell'd the Senate for his Fornications and Adulteries, by* Appius Claudius Pulcher, *and* L. Calpurnius Piſo, *then Cenſors in the year from the City built* 703. *Of which expulſion* Dio *likewiſe makes mention.* Suetonius *alſo in his Book of the* Famous Grammarians, *relates how*

he

he was Lampoon'd by Leneus *the Enfranchiz'd Bondman of* Pompey *the Great, who never ſcrupl'd to call him Glutton, Whoremaſter, Varlet and Debauchee; a Monſter of Contrarieties in his Life and Writings: In Confirmation of which,* Lactantius *ſays of him, That he was a ſlave to his Luſts, and defil'd his own Sentences by the wickedneſs of his Life. So hard a thing it is for a Man to ſay well and do well.*

However by the favour of Julius Cæſar, *when he came to have the Power in his own hands, he recover'd his Senatorian Dignity, was made Queſtor; and then* Pretor; *in which Employment he was commanded by* Cæſar, *then bound for* Africa *againſt* Scipio, *to ſail with part of his Navy to the Iſland of* Cercina, *to fetch Corn. Afterwards, when* Juba *was kill'd, and his Kingdom reduc'd into a Province,* Cæſar *left him with an Army Proconſul or Deputy Lieutenant of* Numidia; *where, by Peeling and Polling the Country, he ſo well lin'd his Coffers, that he bought a whole* Forum *or* Market-place *in* Rome, *where now ſtands the Temple of* Sta Suſanna; *The Village of* * Tiburtum, *and thoſe Gardens which ſtill to this day retain the Name of* Saluſtian. Cæſar *forgave him his depredation; but he could never wipe off the Ignominy of being ſo ſharp a Reprover*

* Now *Villa d' Adriano.*

prover of other Men's failings, who was ſo Vicious himſelf.

He Marry'd Terentia, Cicero's *Wife, after her being Divorc'd from her Husband; and at the Age of threeſcore Years, ſome ſay threeſcore and two, died preſently after the Murder of his Patron,* Julius Cæſar; *and was Buried in the ſame place where he was Born; leaving behind him thoſe living Monuments, that will preſerve his Memory ſo long as Learning endures.*

THE

THE WAR OF CATALINE.

By

Caius Salluſtius Criſpus.

IT behoves all Men that labour to excel all other Creatures, to make it their chief Endeavour not to waſt their Lives in Silence like the Brute Beaſts, form'd by Nature prone to the Earth, and only Slaves to their Bellies. But our whole ſtrength and vigor is ſeated as well in the Mind as in the Body. We make more uſe of the command of the Mind than of the ſervice of the Body.

The one we ſhare with the Gods, the other is common to us with the Beaſts. Whence it appears to be a nobler way to purchaſe glory rather by our Ingenuity, than our Strength of Body; and becauſe the life it ſelf which we enjoy is but of ſhort continuance, to render our Memories the longeſt that we can. For the Spendor of Form and Riches is frail and tranſitory; but Vertue is accounted Illuſtrious and Eternal. 'Tis true the Conteſt has been long among Mortals which moſt prevail'd in War, vigor of Mind, or ſtrength of Body. For firſt, before we begin, it behoves us to conſult, and after deliberation, nothing more requiſite than ſpeedy Execution. Thus both defective of themſelves, the one becomes effectual by the aſſiſtance of the other. Therefore at the beginning Kings (for that was the firſt Title of Soveraign Dignity upon Earth) predominant in ſeveral places, ſome made uſe of their Parts and Ingenuity, others exercis'd their Bodies. Then alſo was the Life of Man without Ambition; while every one was pleas'd with what himſelf enjoy'd. But after that in *Aſia* *Cyrus*, in *Greece* the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, began to ſubdue Cities and Nations, that they

they made Ambition of Dominion the cauſe and foundation of War; and meaſur'd the extent of Glory by the ſpaciouſneſs of their Territories, then Danger and Buſineſs taught the world that War was chiefly manag'd by Wit and Ingenuity. So that if the Vertue and Magnanimity of Kings and Emperors were alike in Peace as in War, Human Affairs would be leſs ſubject to inconſtancy; nor ſhould we ſee ſuch Changes, ſuch Revolutions, nor ſuch Topſy Turvies in the world. For Empire is eaſily preſerv'd by the Arts, by which it was at firſt acquir'd. But when Sloth, inſtead of Induſtry; when Ambition and Pride, inſtead of Equity and Moderation, invaded once the Breaſts of Men, then their Fortune with their Cuſtoms underwent a univerſal change. Thus is Empire always tranſlated to every one that is moſt excellent from the Inferiour and leſs Brave. The toyls of Plowing, hazards of Navigation, and expence of Building, all ſubmit to Vertue, as being obedient to her Inſtigations. But many Men addicted to Luxury and Sleep, Illiterate and void of Education, conſume their Lives like Travellers upon the Road; to whom, quite contrary to Nature, their

Body is a Pleaſure, but their Soul a Burden. Now their living and their dying, I look upon to be the ſame, as being both buried in Silence. But he it is, who ſeems to me to live and enjoy a Soul, who finding himſelf employment, labours for the Fame of ſome great Action, or ſome noble Science. Though in ſuch a vaſt variety of buſineſs, Nature chalks out diſtinct and various Roads for differing Undertakers. Among the reſt 'tis highly Commendable to act well for the Common-wealth; nor is it abſurd to ſpeak well in its Honour; for thus may Fame be purchas'd both in Peace and War; ſince many are applauded that acted themſelves, and many that wrote the Atchievements of others. And for my own part, although I never thought the ſame Renown attended the Writer as the Accompliſher of great Affairs, yet it ſeems to be no ſuch eaſy task to commit to writing Public and Memorable Tranſactions. Firſt becauſe that Deeds require Words to equal their Grandeur: for that moſt People believe the Reprehenſions of Crimes and Miſcarriages, to be the Reprimands of Envy or Ill will: where the Author inſiſts upon the Vertue and Honour of good Men, there, whatever every one deems

eaſily

eaſily perform'd he patiently endures; but whatever is extraordinary, that he accounts as Fiction. For my part from my youth, my Inclinations carry'd me to Public Affairs, where I met with many Croſſes and Obſtructions of Misfortune. For Modeſty, Abſtinency and Vertue were over rul'd by Inſolence, Profuſeneſs and Avarice. Which though my diſpoſition abhor'd, as unaccuſtom'd to the Practices of Evil, yet among ſo many Vices, my weak and tender Age could not reſiſt the ſtrong Corruptions of Ambition. And though averſe to the lewd Cuſtoms of the Age, yet the ſame Ambition tormented me as well as others, with thirſt of Fame and envy'd Greatneſs. Therefore, when after many Miſeries and Dangers, my thoughts came once to be at Reſt, and that I had reſolv'd to ſpend the Remainder of my days remote from Buſineſs, my Intentions were not to conſume a happy leaſure in Sloth and Vanity, nor to waſte my time upon thoſe meaner and more ſervile Employments of Husbandry and Hunting; but returning to the ſame deſigns and purpoſes, from whence unruly Ambition had before withdrawn me, I determin'd briefly to write the ſeveral

Tranſactions and Atchievements of the *Roman* People, as they occurr'd moſt worthy the Remembrance of Poſterity: So much the rather, as knowing my ſelf no way engag'd by Hope or Fear, nor any way byaſs'd by prejudice or Intereſt. In purſuance of which Determination I ſhall endeavour a conciſe, and to the utmoſt of my Ability, a ſincere Relation of *Cataline*'s Conſpiracy. For that ſame perpetrated Act of Villany do I eſteem moſt Memorable, as well for the novelty of the Crime as of the Danger. Of the Manners and Inclinations of which Perſon it will be expedient in the firſt place, to give a ſhort Accompt before I begin my Relation.

L. *CATALINE*, deſcended of a Noble Family, was a Perſon of Great Strength and Vigour both of Body and Mind; but of an Evil and Vicious Diſpoſition. From his early Adoleſcency nothing was more grateful to him than Civil War; Slaughter, Rapine and Domeſtic Diſcord were the Paſtimes of his Youth. He had a Body enur'd to Hunger, Cold, and want of Sleep beyond Belief. Daring beſide, and Crafty, Inconſtant, able to counterfeit and diſ-

ſemble

ſemble what he pleas'd himſelf; greedy of other Mens Proprieties, Prodigal of his own; Ardent in his Deſires, and Burning in his Luſts; ſufficiently Eloquent, but his ſtock of Prudence very ſmall; A vaſt Mind that always Thirſted after things Exorbitant, Incredible, and two High above his Reach. This Man, after the Domination and Tyranny of *L. Sylla*, nothing would ſatisfie but an unreaſonable deſire of invading the Common-weal. Nor by what means he might obtain it, ſo he might graſp a Kingdom to himſelf, did he at all regard or value. But every day his Thoughts were more and more turmoyl'd, himſelf grown wild through his Domeſtic Wants, and the Guilt of his Crimes. Both which he had accumulated by his Deprav'd and Vicious Life, augmented moreover by the corrupted Cuſtoms of the City; which two the worſt Diſtempers of a Commonwealth, and moſt directly oppoſite one to another, Luxury and Avarice, infected at that time. For which reaſon, the Subject it ſelf ſeems to require, ſince opportunity has put us in mind of the Vices of the City, to go a little Back,

and take a ſhort view of the Conſtitutions of our Anceſtors; after what manner they govern'd the Common-wealth, how they left it, and how being alter'd by Degrees, from moſt beautiful and famous, it became deformed and flagitious.

The City of *ROME*, as I have gather'd from Tradition, at firſt the *Trojans* built and then poſſeſſ'd; who under the Conduct of *Eneas*, Fugitives from their native Country, wander'd up and down without any certain Habitations; with whom alſo join'd the original Off-ſpring of the Land; a ſavage ſort of People, living at their full ſwinge of Liberty and Licence without Laws or Goverment. Theſe after they were muſter'd together within the ſame Walls, of differing Race, and different Language both, and no leſs different in their Manners and Ceremonies of living, incredible it is to think how eaſily they embody'd. But when their Power, enlarg'd with Number of Citizens, with Conſtitutions and Extent of Territory, began to ſeem ſufficiently proſperous and prevalent, as generally it happens among Mortals, Envy ſprung

ſprung from Opulency. The neighbouring Princes and States diſturb'd 'em with Invaſions; few of their friends would ſtir to their Relief; the reſt diſmay'd with fear kept far enough from danger. The *Romans* therefore ſedulous at home and no leſs diligent abroad, make haſt, prepare, encourage one another; march forth to meet the Enemy, and with their Arms protect their Liberty, their Country and their Aged Parents. Afterwards, when they had foyl'd all Danger, and repell'd it from their own Walls, they lent their Succour to their friends and Allies; and eſtabliſh'd Amity and Leagues among the neighbours more by giving than receiving benefits. Legitimate was their Form of Government; and the Title of their Form was Regal. Certain Perſons ſelected, whoſe bodies were infirm with years, but active Brains were vigorous in wiſdom, conſulted for the Common Good; who either for their Age, or the Reſemblance of their Cares, were call'd *Fathers*. Afterwards, when Regal Dominion, made choice of at the beginning for the preſervation of Liberties, and enlarging the Territories of the Common-wealth, degenerated

nerated into Pride and Tyranny, changing their Cuſtom, they ſet up Annual Governments, and became ſubject to two Supream Commanders. For by that means they thought to prevent the Pride of Dignity from growing too exorbitant. But at that time every one began to advance himſelf more and more, and to ſhew the ſharpneſs of his Wit upon all Occaſions. For Kings are ſtill more jealous of the vertuous than the wicked; and always that vertue which diſplays it ſelf in others is moſt formidable. But the City, ſo ſoon as once it had recover'd its Liberty, incredible it is to think how ſuddenly in grew into Renown; ſuch was the univerſal deſire of Fame and Glory. Immediately the Youth of the City were no ſooner able to endure the Hardſhips of War, but in the Camp continual Labour taught 'em the practice of Military Diſcipline; while their delight was only in their burniſh'd Armour, and their Warlike Steeds, contemning Effeminate Lewdneſs and Voluptuous Riot. To ſuch men therefore Labour was no unuſual thing, not any Cliff ſeem'd ſteep and rugged, nor armed Enemy frightful: their

their vertue ſubdu'd all things; while the chiefeſt Conteſts among them were only for Fame and Honour. Every one haſten'd to give his Enemy the firſt Blow; to ſcale the Wall, and be conſpicuous in the Action. In ſuch Atchievements they plac'd their chiefeſt Riches, their greateſt Honour, and moſt Illuſtrious Nobility. Covetous of Applauſe they were, but liberal of their Money; Vaſt Fame, but moderate Wealth was their deſire. I could call to mind in what pitch'd Fields the *Roman* People with a ſmall handful of Men have over-thrown moſt numerous Armies of their Enemies; what Cities Fortifi'd by Nature they have wreſted from the Defendants by bare fighting, but that I fear ſo great a Task would draw me too far from my deſign. Nevertheleſs Fortune aſſuredly prevails in every thing, ſhe Celebrates or Ecclipſes all things more according to her own will and pleaſure than adhering to truth. The Actions of the *Athenians* were ſufficiently great and magnificent, in my Opinion; however ſomewhat leſs than Fame reports 'em. But in regard that there it was ſo many Writers flouriſh'd,

matchleſs

matchleſs for their Ingenuity, the *Athenian* Atchievements are thoſe which are celebrated above all others over all the World. And the Vertue and Courage of thoſe that perform'd thoſe great Actions are deem'd to be as great as thoſe high ſoaring Wits had with their Eloquence extoll'd 'em to be. But the People of *Rome* had never that abundance, becauſe that the moſt prudent were ſtill moſt publickly engag'd: no man exercis'd his Wit without his Body; every one choſe rather to act than ſpeak; and that his deeds of Merit ſhould rather be applauded by others, than that he ſhould be the magnifier of other Men's Exploits. And therefore both in Peace and War good Cuſtoms were religiouſly obſerv'd. There was moſt of Unity, the leaſt of Avarice. Right and Juſtice among them prevail'd by Nature more than through the Terrour of the Law. Their Quarrels, their Diſcords and their Contentions were only with their Enemies; Citizen with Citizens conteſted only for preheminence in vertue: Magnificent in their Adoration of the Gods, thrifty in their Houſes, and faithful to their Freinds. By theſe two never failing

ing means, in War by daring Boldneſs, and when at Peace by Juſtice, they preſerv'd both themſelves and the Common-weal. Of all which things I have theſe ſignal Proofs to produce, for that in War, they more ſeverely puniſh'd thoſe, who diſobedient to command adventur'd to fight the Enemy, or lateſt left the field when order'd to retreat, than ſuch as durſt forſake their Colours, or give ground to their Adverſary. On the other ſide, in Peace they rather choſe to oblige by beneficial Indulgence, than conſtrain by Fear: and having receiv'd an Affront they rather choſe to pardon than to proſecute.

Thus while the Common-wealth enlarg'd it ſelf by Labour and Juſtice, Kings vaſtly Potent were ſubdu'd by War, Barbarous and Populous Nations were tam'd by Force: *Carthage* jealous of the *Roman* Empire was utterly ruin'd; All Seas and Continents lay open; Fortune ſeem'd to rage and ranverſe all the world. They who had undergone all ſorts of Labour, Dangers, Hardſhips and Uncertainties of chance, Leaſure and Riches ſo much deſir'd by others, to them were but a Burthen and Affliction.

Firſt therefore Thirſt of Money, then of Rule encreas'd. They, were the Materials of all enſuing miſchiefs: for Avarice ſubverted Fidelity, Probity, and all other vertuous Practices: in ſtead of theſe it taught 'em Pride, Cruelty, to neglect the Gods, and to put all things to Sale. On the other ſide Ambition enſlav'd her Captives to Treachery; to conceal one thing within their breaſts, and utter quite the contrary with their Tongues: to eſtimate friendſhip and hatred not as they are in themſelves, but according to the dictate of Intereſt: and to carry rather an honeſt Countenance than an honeſt Intention. Theſe things at firſt inſenſibly grew up, and ſometimes were puniſh'd. But when the Contagion once began to ſpread, the face of the whole City was alter'd, and that Government which was the juſteſt and the beſt, became not only Cruel but intolerable. But firſt of all Ambition more than Avarice employ'd the thoughts of Men. A Vice that approaches the neareſt of the two to Vertue. For that the ſedulous and ſlothful are equally covetous of Glory, Honour, and Dominion. However the one takes the Right Courſe to obtain his lawful ends;

ends; the other wanting vertuous means, by fraud and treachery aſpires to what he never deſerv'd. Avarice, Toiles and Labours after Money; of which no wiſe man ever coveted the Superfluity. That Vice, envenom'd as it were with poiſonous mixtures, effeminates the body and the Maſculine Soul of all Mankind: 'tis always unlimited and inſatiable; neither does abundance or penury exhauſt it.

But after *L. Sylla*, having by force of Arms laid violent hands upon the Common-weal, turn'd good beginnings into ruinous events, then there was nothing but rending and tearing; one muſt have a Houſe, another Lands; the Victours obſerv'd no bounds, no moderation, but fowl and hainous were there Cruelties to their fellow Citizens. To which we may add, that *L. Sylla*, contrary to the Cuſtom of our Anceſtors, oblig'd the Army which he had Commanded in *Aſia*, thereby to render it more affectionate and faithful to his Intereſt, by a Toleration of all manner of Luxury, Debauchery; and the delightful Quarters where they wallow'd in pleaſure and eaſe, had ſoon ſoftn'd the fierce and martial Diſpoſitions of the Souldiery. And then it was that the *Ro-*

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man Army firſt began to be in Love, to drink, to admire Pictures and emboſs'd Goblets of Gold and Silver, to commit public and private Robbery, to Plunder the very Temples, and to Pollute all things both ſacred and Prophane. Therefore thoſe Souldiers, after they had once obtain'd the Victory, left nothing remaining for the vanquiſh'd: For Proſperous ſucceſs never leaves tyring out the Minds of wiſeſt men with her Importunities, leaſt they themſelves, their Manners being corrupted, ſhould moderate their Conqueſts, or know which way to conſult for the beſt.

When Opulency thus began to be in high Eſteem, and that Renown, Dominion, Power attended upon Riches; Vertue began to grow Numb and Stupid, Poverty to be derided, and Innocence to be taken for Ill will. Therefore from the Source of Riches, *Luxury* and Avarice together with immoderate Pride firſt aſſail'd the *Roman* Youth. And then their buſineſs was to catch and ſnatch, conſume, deſpiſe their own and covet other Men's; to caſt off ſhame and modeſty, make no diſtinction of Divine or Human, nor any reckoning of thrift or moderation.

deration. It might be worth the while for him that firſt has view'd ſo many Houſes and Palaces, rear'd up as big as Villages, to viſit the Temples, which our Anceſtors, the moſt Religious of Mortals, erected to the Gods. You find 'em much the leſſer Fabricks; yet they adorn'd their Temples with Piety, their Houſes with Fame and Honour; nor did they deprive the Vanquiſh'd of any thing but only the Liberty of doing wrong. But theſe men, quite the contrary, of Mortals the moſt ſlothful, moſt wickedly, and ingloriouſly wreſt from their Friends and Allies thoſe things which their Couragious and Victorious Anceſtors left their very Enemies, as if doing wrong were the true Exerciſe of Dominion. For wherefore ſhould I call to mind thoſe things, which, unleſs to ſuch as have beheld 'em, are hardly Credible, that is to ſay, great Mountains levell'd, and whole Sea's built over by ſeveral Private Perſons, that in ſo doing ſeem'd to me to make a May-game of their Riches? ſince what they might have honourably enjoy'd, they made ſuch haſt in ſcorn to fling away. Nor is the Rage of adulterous Luſt, of Brothel-haunting and other

Beſtialities leſs prevalent, while Men as Women ſuffer, and Women make public Proſtitutions of their Chaſtity: to ſatiate their Riot, they ranſack Sea and Land: They ſleep ere need of Reſt requires: Nor will they ſtay in expectation of Hunger or Thirſt, of Cold or Wearineſs; but all thoſe things their Luxury prevents. And thoſe Exorbitances inflam'd the *Roman* Youth, when once their Patrimonies fail'd, to ſeek for new ſupplies, by Acts of Horror and Impiety: for when the Mind is ſeaſon'd thoroughly with evil Courſes, it never fails of looſe deſires; and for that reaſon ſo much the more profuſely raves after extravagant Gain and wild Expence.

In ſo great and ſo corrupt a City, *Cataline*, a Peice of Pomp moſt eaſily to be obtain'd, walk'd the Streets attended by whole Troops of Diſſolute Ruffians and Debauchees that follow'd his Heels, like ſo many Guards of his Body. For whoever he were that void of ſhame, an Adulterer, a Glutton or a Gameſter had diſſipated his Paternal Fortunes either with his Hand, or kindneſs to his Belly, Venereal Member, or run himſelf up to the Ears in debt, to purchaſe the Pardon

Pardon of his Villanies: all Parricides, Sacrilegious Perſons, Convicts after Sentence, or ſuch as fear'd the Judgment of the Law for their Miſdeeds; moreover ſuch whoſe Hands or Tongues earn'd 'em their Bread by Perjuries or Shedding Civil Blood; and laſtly, all whom Villany, Penury, or guilt of Conſcience agitated with Continual Terror, Theſe were *Cataline*'s Familiars and Favourites. Or if any Perſon blameleſs and free from miſcarriage happen'd to light into his friendſhip, by dayly Practice and repeated Allurements, he ſoon was taught to be alike and equal to the Reſt; for above all he coveted the acquaintance of young men, whoſe diſpoſition's being ſoft and yielding, were eaſily entangl'd in the ſnares of crafty Temptation. For ſtill as he obſerv'd the Flame of their youthful Inclinations, ſome he dazl'd with the Charms of Curtezans; while others were won with Dogs and Horſes. Nor did he ſpare for Coſt or to expoſe his own Reputation, ſo he might render 'em obnoxious and faithful to himſelf. I know there were ſome People who ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that the Young Gentlemen frequenting *Cataline*'s Houſe, were ſomewhat too undecently

laviſh of their Chaſtity: But that Report was raiſs'd and believ'd, rather upon other Grounds, then that any Perſon could affirm it upon knowledg. *Cataline* had been Guilty of ſeveral Nefarious Fornications, as having Debauch'd a Lady of Noble Extraction, and a Veſtal Virgin, beſides ſundry other Crimes, of the ſame Nature, which he had Committed in Contempt of Gods and Men. At length, falling in Love with *Aurelia Oreſtilla*, who had never any thing in the World to Commend her in the Opinion of any honeſt Man, beſides her Form, becauſe ſhe delay'd to marry him for fear of her Son-in-Law that was of Age, 'tis certainly believ'd, that he murder'd the Young Man, and extinguiſh'd the Family to enjoy an Impious Wedlock. Which Fact of his ſeems chiefly to me to have been the Cauſe of haſtning his Villanous Deſign. For his Polluted Soul abominable both to Gods and Men, could take no reſt awake or aſleep; in ſuch a manner did his Conſcience perplex and terrify his reſtleſs and deſtracted Mind. Therefore was his Complexion pale and wan; his Eyes hollow, his Pace ſometimes ſwift, ſometimes ſlow; in a word,

word, Madneſs and Fury diſplay'd themſelves in every Lineament of his Countenance. And for the Young Gentlemen whom he had thus debauch'd, he was not wanting ſo to inſtruct 'em, as to make 'em ſerviceable to all his pernicious purpoſes. For out of them he cull'd Falſe Witneſſes and Forgers of Wills and Deeds. Them he taught to deſpiſe their Credit, their Fortunes and all manner of Danger. And when he had thus ruin'd their Honour, and their Modeſty, then he Commanded other greater Villanies. And if he could not meet with a preſent Opportunity for Miſchief, they were to circumvent and maſſacre the Innocent as if they had been guilty; meerly to keep their thoughts and hands in ure; while their Tutour rather choſe to exerciſe his Cruelty *gratis*, then to lie idle in drowſy wickedneſs. Confiding in ſuch Friends and Aſſociates as theſe, *Cataline* began to conſult how he might graſp the Soveraign Power, and ſubdue the Common-weal: ſo much the rather becauſe he knew his own Retinue to be ſo vaſtly every where in debt, and for that the moſt of *Sylla*'s Souldiers having ſpent their ill got Plunder, and calling theſe Victorious daies

to mind, when they wallow'd in Rapine and Maſſacre, both the one and the other thirſted after Civil War. In *Italy* there was no Army. *Pompey* was waging War in the remote parts of the World; he had great hopes, if he ſtood for the Conſulſhip, of obtaining it. The Senate were careleſs and minded little buſineſs; all things were quiet and a kind of Calm of Affairs: which were all ſeaſonable Opportunities for *Cataline.*

Therefore about the firſt of *June*, *Lucius Cæſar*, and *Caius Figulus* being Conſuls, firſt he diſcourſes 'em in private one by one, encourages ſome, of others he feels the Pulſes, urges his own Power, the unprovided Condition of the Commonwealth, and the vaſt rewards of a Succeſsful Conſpiracy: and when he had ſufficiently tented every one in particular, he ſummons 'em all together, whom he knew to be moſt in want and daringly bold. Upon this ſummons there appeared of the Senatorian Order *Publius Lentulus Sura*, P. *Autronius*, *Caſſius Longinus*, *Caius Cethegus*, *P.* and *Ser. Sylla*, the Sons of *Servius*; *Lucius Vargunteius*, *Q. Annius*, *M. Porcius Lecca*, *Lucius Beſtia*, *Q. Curius.* Moreover of the degree of Knights, *M. Fulvius*

vius Nobilior, *Lucius Statilius*, *Mar. Gabinius Capito*, and *Caius Cornelius*. Beſides thoſe there were alſo many out of the *Roman* Colonies, and Municipal Towns, who were of Noble Extraction at home. Nor were there wanting a good number of other Accomplices, who more privately and cloſely favour'd and abetted this deſign, excited rather by the Hopes of Domination, than through any want or neceſſity. However, the Greateſt part of the Younger ſort, eſpecially the Nobly deſcended, wiſh'd well to *Cataline*'s Proceedings: who having ſufficient wherewithal to live in Pomp and Luxury, yet rather choſe Uncertainties for Certainties, and War inſtead of Peace. There were alſo ſome at the ſame time who verily believ'd that *M. Licinius Craſſus* was not ignorant of the Deſign, in regard that *Pompey*, whom he hated, then Commanding a numerous Army, he minded not what Party he ſupported in Oppoſition to his Power: Confident moreover, That if the Conſpiracy prevail'd, he ſhould eaſily be able to make himſelf chief Head of the Faction. Yet ſome few there were, who joyn'd in a Conſpiracy againſt the Common-wealth before: of which deſign it is

my purpoſe now, as truly as I can, to give a plain and unbyaſs'd account.

L. Tullus, and *M. Lepidus* being Conſuls, *P. Autronius*, and *P. Sylla* being deſign'd Conſuls, being accus'd of uſing indirect means to attain their Honour, had undergone the Puniſhment of the Law. A little after that, *Cataline* being condemn'd for Bribery, was forbid to ſtand for the Conſulſhip; ſo that he could not give in his Name within the days appointed by the Law. At the ſame time there was alſo *Cn. Piſo*, a Young Gentleman of Noble and Ancient Extraction, moſt daringly Arrogant, Needy and Factious, whoſe wants and wicked courſe of Life, ſpurr'd him forward to diſturb the Commonwealth. With him *Cataline* and *Autronius* having conſulted together upon the Fifth of *December*, agreed upon the Firſt of *January* enſuing to Aſſaſſinate *Lucius Cotta*, and *Lucius Torquatus*, the two Conſuls, in the Capitol. Which done, they themſelves, after they had ſeiz'd upon the *Faſces*, or Enſigns of Conſular Dignity, were to have ſent *Piſo* with an Army to take Poſſeſſion of both the *Spaniſh* Provinces. But this Plot having taken wind, they deferr'd the Execution of the

the Murder till the Fifth of *February* following, but contriv'd in the mean time the Maſſacre, not only of the Conſuls, but of moſt of the Senators; ſo that had not *Cataline* been too haſty to give the Signal to the reſt of his Confedrates, ſince the firſt Foundations of *Rome* were laid, never had an Act of Villany ſo execrable been perpetrated within her Walls. But the Conſpirators not meeting ſo early as they ought to have done, that Opportunity was loſt. After this, *Piſo* was ſent Treaſurer or *Queſtor* into the hither Province of *Spain*, with *Prætorian* Power, *Craſſus* conniving at it, becauſe he knew him to be a bitter Enemy of *Pompey*'s. Neither was the Senate averſe from decreeing him the province, as being deſirous to remove from the City a Perſon of his Vitious Principles. Beſides, they thought that many good men might relie upon him; for that *Pompey*'s greatneſs began already to be formidable. But *Piſo*, in his Journey toward his Province, was ſlain by certain *Spaniſh* Horſemen that he carry'd along with him in his Army. Some there are who report, the *Barbarians* could not brook his unjuſt, his haughty and Cruel Commands: though others ſay, that

that thoſe Horſemen, having been long patroniz'd by *Pompey*, and being become his faithful Clients, had by his connivance made that attempt upon *Piſo*: for that the *Spaniards* had never enterpriz'd ſo foul a fact before; although they had ſuffer'd formerly many more Severities of Lordly Impoſition: However it were, we ſhall leave the Queſtion undetermin'd: and ſo let this ſuffice concerning the firſt Conſpiracy.

Cataline, when he ſaw the Perſons, by me already mention'd, to be Aſſembl'd all together, though he had frequently diſcours'd the Point with every one apart, however, deeming it more advantageous to his Deſign to beſpeak and encourage 'em all together, withdrew into the remoteſt part of the Houſe, and there excluding all others that were not abſolutely concern'd, he made 'em an Oration to this Effect.

" Were I not ſufficiently aſſur'd of " your Courage and Fidelity, in vain this " Opportunity had happen'd; in vain had " I conceiv'd theſe Noble hopes of Abſo- " lute Dominion; nor ſhould I go about " to graſp at uncertainties upon the weak " ſupport of Sloth, or fickle Irreſolution. " But becauſe I have found ye ſtout and faithful

" faithful to me in many and moſt deſpe-
" rate Attempts, therefore it is that my un-
" daunted Bravery has begun the Greateſt
" and Nobleſt of Deſigns: as alſo for that
" I underſtand you have no other Felicity
" or Miſeries but what are ſtill the ſame
" with mine; for to have ſtill the ſame
" deſires, and the ſame diſaffections,
" that's the only firm and perfect
" Friendſhip. Now what it is I have
" been thus revolving in my mind, you
" have already ſeverally heard. And
" I muſt tell ye, that this Reſolution of
" mine is every day ſtill more and
" more enflam'd, when I conſider what
" our future Condition of Life muſt be,
" unleſs that we our ſelves redeem our
" own endanger'd Liberty. For when the
" Common-wealth is once reduc'd under
" the Power and Juriſdiction of a few,
" then ſhall Kings and Tetrachs be
" their Slaves and Tributary Vaſſals.
" People, Nations muſt pay Them their
" Taxes and Impoſitions: all others, as
" well the Brave, the Stout, the Noble
" muſt be the Vulgar Herd, diſhonour'd
" and without the leaſt Authority, in
" ſubjection to Them, to whom, did but
" the Common-wealth retain it's perfect

" Health

"Health and Vigour, we ſhould be a Ter-
"rour: while they engroſs to themſelves
"all Favours, Honour, Dignity and
"Riches, or elſe beſtow 'em where they
"pleaſe, but leave us nothing but
"Dangers, Repulſes, Condemnations and
"Poverty: which how long will ye at
"length endure, moſt Couragious of
"Men? Is it not far more glorious to
"dye Magnanimouſly and Bravely, then
"Ignominiouſly to loſe a miſerable and
"contemptible Life, after ye have been
"the ſport and ſcorn of others domineer-
"ing Pride? But by the Faith of Gods
"and Men the Fault's our own; The
"Victory is in our hands; Our years
"are in their Prime; Our Courage un-
"daunted and Vigorous; They, on the
"other ſide, grown old and feeble with
"Age and Wealth. We only want
"but to begin, the reſt would follow.
"For who among the Race of Mortals,
"endu'd but with a Maſculine Spirit,
"would ere endure, that they ſhould
"wallow in wealth, which they profuſely
"laviſh in rearing Palaces upon the Sea,
"and levelling Mountains, while we are
"pinch'd at home with want of neceſſa-
"ries? That they ſhould have their

Change

" Change of Sumptuous Houſes, while
" we can no where find a Cottage of our
" own to harbour our Miſery? They
" purchaſe Pictures, Statues, Sculptures
" and Emboſſments of all ſorts to pamper
their Eyes; pull down, build up again,
" and by all manner of extortions hale
" and torture Money to themſelves, un-
" able ſtill with all their Luxury to ſub-
" due their Wealth; we Starve at home,
" abroad our debts ore-whelm us; mi-
" ſerable our Condition, and our hopes
" more deſperate: Then what remains for
" us beſides a wretched Life? Why ſleep
" ye therefore? Behold that Same, that
" very Liberty which ye have ſo often
" ſigh'd for: Moreover Plenty, Splendour,
" Honour, ſhew themſelves in view:
" For all thoſe things does Fortune offer
" to the Victors. Let the Enterprize
" it ſelf, the Opportunity, the Dangers,
" your own Wants and the magnificent
" Spoils of War inflame your Courage
" beyond my Oration. And whether
" you make uſe of me as your Com-
" mander or a Private Souldier, my Va-
" lour nor my Perſon ſhall be abſent
" from ye. For theſe are ſtill the things
" which I intend to act in Common Con-
ſultation

" ſultation with ye; unleſs perhaps my " Courage fail me, and you prove more " prepar'd to ſerve, then to Com- " mand.

Theſe things were heard by People abounding in Miſery, but to whom not any hope ſurviv'd: and though they look'd upon it as a ſufficient recompence to be diſturbers of Public Tranquillity; nevertheleſs the greateſt Part deſir'd him to declare the Conditions of the War; what rewards the ſucceſs of their Arms might Challenge; how their wants and how their expectations might every way be ſatisfi'd. Then *Cataline* promis'd 'em *New Tables*, or the Cancelling of their Debts, the Proſcription of the Wealthy, Offices, Prieſthoods, Rapines, Plunder, and all thoſe Advantages which War and the Victors Fury render lawful. Moreover he aſſur'd 'em that *Piſo* poſſeſs'd the Hither Province of *Spain*, that in *Mauritania P. Sitius Nucerinus* was lodg'd with an Army, Both privy to his deſign. That *C. Antonius* ſtood for the *Conſulſhip*, and as he hop'd would happen to be his Collegue, his Familiar Friend, and a Perſon under the burthen of utmoſt Indigency. That being Conſul with him he would then

then begin to act. Moreover all whom he thought Honeſt he loaded with Invectives and Reproaches: then calling every one of his own Confederates by their Names, ſome he applauded, others he put in mind of their Penury, ſeveral of the danger of Puniſhment and the ignominy that attended 'em; and many of *Sylla*'s Victory, eſpecially thoſe who had taſted the ſweets of Pillage and Rapine. Then beholding a chearful unanimity in their Countenances, after he had admoniſh'd 'em to be mindful of ſtrengthening his Party againſt he ſtood for the Conſulſhip, he diſmiſs'd the Aſſembly. Some there were, who at that time reported, that *Cataline*, after he had concluded his Oration, when he took the oath of ſecrecy from his Confederates, caus'd Human Blood to be mingl'd with the wine, and then to be given about to every man his Cup. Of which, when after the Repetition of the Curſe, they had all ſipp'd, according to Cuſtom at the Solemn Sacrifices, then he reveal'd the depth of his deſign, and told 'em the reaſon of his urging ſuch a Ceremony, which was to engage 'em to the greater Secrecy and Fidelity one among another;

ther, while ſodder'd thus together, equal in Guilt, and equal in their Fears. Yet ſome there were who deem'd theſe Stories fain'd, and many things invented beſides by thoſe, who believ'd, that the *Antipathy* conceiv'd againſt *Cicero*, which brake out ſoon after, might be aſſwag'd by improving the hainouſneſs of their Crime, who had ſuffer'd puniſhment. However 'tis my Opinion, That had the Crime been ſo great as was reported, it could not have eſcap'd our knowledge.

But notwithſtanding theſe precautions, there was in this Conſpiracy *Quintus Curius*, a Perſon of no mean Parentage, tho' infamouſly branded with all manner of Lewdneſs and Villany, whom therefore the Cenſors had expell'd the Senate as a Public Nuiſance.

This Perſon was a Man no leſs vainglorious than inſolently bold: He neither could contain the Secrets which he heard, nor conceal the Crimes which he himſelf committed. Among the reſt he had been long familiar with *Fulvia*, a Woman however of Noble Deſcent, to whom at length when he became impertinent and troubleſom by reaſon of his Indigency, that could no longer preſent and treat her

as

as he was wont; of a ſudden, as if he had commanded all the World, he began to promiſe her whole Seas and Mountains; at other times threatning her with his drawn Sword, unleſs She comply'd with his deſires; and in ſhort, to behave himſelf after a more Lordly and Domineering manner then formerly. *Fulvia* therefore, having ſifted out the cauſe of this unſual ſwaggering of her Paramor, ne'er went about to conceal a danger that ſo nearly threatn'd the Common-wealth, but ſuppreſſing her Authors name, recounted to ſeveral whatever She had heard concerning *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy. This Rumor firſt of all ſtirr'd up the Favor and good Will of moſt Men, to procure the Conſulſhip for *M. Tullius Cicero*. For before that time the greateſt part of the Nobility burn'd with diſdain, and thought the Conſulſhip defil'd by admitting a Perſon but newly known to the World, though otherwiſe of ſoaring and egregious Parts, to that degree of Honour. But when Danger was ſo near their doors, Malice and Pride were laid aſleep. Therefore upon the day of Election *M. Tullius* and *C. Antonius* were declar'd Conſuls. Which was the firſt thing that ſhook the Abetters of the Conſpiracy.

However, *Cataline*'s Fury was nothing abated; but every day made new Progreſſes to advance his Deſign; making Proviſion of Arms in all Convenient Places all over *Italy*: and taking up Money either upon his own or the Credit of his Friends, ſent it away to one *Manlius*, then dwelling or reſiding at * *Fæſulæ*, and afterwards Captain General for the War.

* *Now* Fieſoli, *two Miles from* Florence.

At the ſame time he is reported to have purchas'd to himſelf ſeveral Men of all Sorts and Conditions; nay, and ſome Women too, who firſt of all had maintain'd themſelves at a prodigious Rate by the Proſtitution of their Bodies; but afterward, decay of Youth and Beauty limiting their Gains, though not their Luxury, had vaſtly run themſelves in Debt. By their Aſſiſtance *Catiline* thought to ſollicite and inveigle the City Rabble, to ſet the houſes on fire, and either to gain or murder their Husbands. In this Number was *Sempronia*, who had frequently Committed ſeveral Facts of Maſculine boldneſs. This Woman was for her Birth and Beauty, in her Husband alſo and her Children ſufficiently happy:

happy; well acquainted with the *Greek* and *Latin* Learning; Sung and Danc'd with much more exactneſs and elegancy then was neceſſary for a Woman profeſſing Chaſtity. With many other Graces alſo that heighten Laſciviouſneſs was ſhe endow'd; but ſtill ſhe priz'd all other things above her Modeſty. Whether ſhe were more Prodigal of her Money or her Reputation you could not eaſily diſcern; and ſuch was the heat of her Luſt, that ſhe more often courted Men, then Men Her. Falſe to her Promiſe, to her Truſt Forſworn, and Driving head-long where-ever the Torrent of her Luxury and Poverty carry'd her. Otherwiſe a Woman of no mean Wit: for ſhe made Verſes, jeſted facetiouſly, could vary her Diſcourſe to Modeſt or Obſcene according to her Company: and in a word had all the Charms of Speech and Breeding.

All this Proviſion thus far made, *Catiline* nevertheleſs put in to be Conſul the next year, hoping if he were elected, that he ſhould govern *Antonius* at his own pleaſure. Nor was he Idle in the mean while, but laid all Ambuſhments

imaginable for *Cicero*, who on the other ſide wanted neither craft nor ſubtilty to guard himſelf; for from the beginning of his Conſulſhip, making great Promiſes by *Fulvia*'s means he had brought it to that paſs, that *Quintus Curius* had already laid open to him *Catiline*'s Deſigns. And beſides that, he had made ſure of his Collegue *Antony*, by confirming to him the Grant of his Province, that he ſhould not diſſent in any thing from him to the Prejudice of the Common-wealth. He had his Guards of Friends and Clients alſo alwaies within call.

Therefore ſo ſoon as the day of Election was paſt, and that *Catiline* had not only miſſ'd of the Conſulſhip, but alſo fail'd in all the Snares and Plots which he had contriv'd againſt *Cicero*, he reſolv'd upon a War, and to make tryal of all Extremities, ſince what he had Clandeſtinly attempted, had prov'd ſo difficult and unſucceſsful.

Therefore he diſpatch'd away *C. Manlius* to *Fieſoli*, one *Septimius Camertes* into the * Country of *Picenum*, *C. Julius* into *Apulia*; and ſome one way, others another, as he thought every one

* *Now called* La Marca D'Ancona.

one might prove moſt ſerviceable to him. In the mean while himſelf at *Rome* had many Irons in the Fire, to get the Conſul Murdred; to order the firing of the City, to ſeize and fill convenient Poſts with Armed men; ſome he commanded; others he encourag'd, to the end they might be always ready and prepar'd: Day and Night in a continual Hurry; reſtleſs, waking, and yielding neither to want of ſleep, nor labour. Laſtly, When after many meditated Miſchiefs, nothing ſucceeded, again in a tempeſtuous Night he ſummon'd the Ring-leaders of the Conſpiracy by *M. Porcius Lecca*. Who being met, he chid 'em firſt for their Remiſsneſs, then gave 'em to underſtand, how he had ſent *Manlius* before to head ſuch Forces as he had got together ready to take Arms: Others to other convenient Places: and that he was prepar'd to go to the Army himſelf, ſo ſoon as he could but get *Cicero* murder'd; for that mainly obſtructed his Deſigns. Thereupon, when all the reſt were in a kind of amazement and tottering in their Reſolutions, *C. Cornelius*, a *Roman* Knight, and with him *L. Vargunteius*, a Senator, promiſing their Aſſiſtance, they agreed to go that

Night, with an armed Retinue, as if it were upon a Viſit to *Cicero*; and ere he were aware to Stab him unprovided in his own Houſe. Preſently *Curius*, when he underſtood the Danger that ſo nearly threatn'd the Conſul, by *Fulvia* gave him ſwift Intelligence of the ſudden Plot upon his Life. So that the Aſſaſſinates not being permitted Entrance into the Houſe, they undertook in vain a Fact ſo Hainous.

In the mean while *Manlius* Sollicits the Rabble in *Tuſcany*, where want and the ſmart of former ſufferings had prepar'd the People for Change; for that under the Tyrannical Uſurpation of *Sylla*, they had loſt their Lands and all their Goods. Nor did he leave uninveigl'd the very Thieves and Robbers, who were very numerous in that Country; and ſome that *Sylla* himſelf had planted there by way of remuneration, who by their Luxury and Prodigality, had waſted what before they had got by Plunder and Rapine.

When *Cicero* had Intelligence of theſe Proceedings, ſtartl'd at the Apprehenſion of a double Miſchief, and finding he could no longer, by his ſingle care and aſſiduity,

Protect

Protect the City from menacing Contrivances, nor certainly knew how numerous *Manlius*'s Forces were, nor what his Councels drove at, he reports the whole Matter to the Senate, which had been toss'd already to and fro in common Rumour and vulgar Discourse. Thereupon, as usually was done on all Important Occasions, the Senate decreed, That the Consuls should take care, least the Commonwealth receiv'd any Damage. Which Power, the greatest that could be, was granted by the Senate to the Supream Magistracy, according to the *Roman* Custom; to raise Armies, carry on the War, and by all ways whatever to suppress and curb both Subjects and Allies: and both at Home and in the Field to Exercise both Soveraign Empire and Judicature. Otherwise, without the Command of the People, no Consul has any Authority to act in those Affairs.

Some few days after, *L. Senius*, read certain Letters in the Senate, which he said were brought him from *Fiesoli*; of which the purport was, That *C. Manlius* had taken Arms with a numerous Multitude, about the beginning of *November*. And some there were, as is usual upon such oc-

caſions, that talk'd of great Prodigies and Wonders: Others diſcours'd of frequent Aſſemblies in ſeveral places, of Arms carry'd to *Capua*, and that the Slaves would riſe in *Apulia*. Thereupon by a Decree of the Senate, *Q. Marcius Rex* was diſpatch'd away for *Fieſoli*, and *Q. Metellus*, Sirnamed *Creticus*, was ſent into *Apulia* and the neighbouring Parts. Both theſe returning to the City, were debarr'd their triumphal Entrance, through the malice of ſome few Detractors, whoſe Cuſtom it was to put all things to Sale, whether honeſt or diſhoneſt. But for the Pretors, *Q. Pompeius Rufus*, *Q. Metellus Celer*, the firſt was ſent to *Capua*, and the latter into *Picenum*, or *La Marca D' Ancona*, with Power to raiſe an Army according to the Importance of the Occacaſion and the Danger. Moreover if any one ſhould make any diſcovery of the Conſpiracy on foot againſt the Commonwealth, Rewards were promis'd; to a Servant his Liberty, and Two Thouſand Five Hundred Crowns; To a Freeman, a General Pardon and Five Thouſand Crowns. They alſo farther decreed, That the Families of the Gladiators ſhould be ſeparated and diſtributed into *Capua* and

ſuch

ſuch other Municipal Towns, that were moſt wealthy and populous; That at *Rome* the Guards ſhould be doubl'd through the whole City; and, That the inferiour Magiſtrates ſhould take charge of the Watches. Theſe things put the whole City into ſuch a Conſternation, that the Countenances of the People were quite alter'd; inſtead of Jolity and Wantonneſs, the effects of long repoſe, all Men were ſeiz'd with ſudden Sadneſs and Perplexity: all in a Hurry; all in Fear; not knowing whom to truſt, or where to be ſecure; neither at War, nor in Peace, but every one meaſuring his danger by his fears. Nay the very Women too, to whom the Terrors of War, in ſuch a Potent Common-wealth, were altogether unuſual, bemoan'd themſelves; ſpread their ſuppliant hands to Heaven; bewail'd their tender Infants; inquir'd the News; dreaded all things; and laying aſide their Pride and Pleaſures grew diſtruſtful of their own and the ſafety of their Country. But *Catiline*'s cruel fury acted ſtill with the ſame Vigor, notwithſtanding the Preparations of Military oppoſition, and that he himſelf were impeach'd upon the *Plautian* Statute by *L. Paulus.* But then

to

to ſhew how well he could diſſemble, or elſe to juſtifie himſelf, as if the Quarrel had been pickt ont purpoſe to teaze him, he went into the Senate. At what time *M. Tullius*, the Conſul, either dreading his Preſence, or incens'd with Anger, made a ſplendid Speech, highly to the benefit of the Common-wealth, which afterwards he publiſh'd to the World. But ſo ſoon as he ſate down again, *Catiline*, who was a perſon well prepar'd for all manner of Diſſimulation, with a dejected Countenance and ſuppliant Tone, beſought the Fathers not over raſhly to credit vain Reports concerning him; that the Family was ſuch from whence he was deſcended, and ſuch the Life which he had lead from his Youth, that he had all things great and good to hope for: Nor to believe that he, a Perſon of Patrician Quality, whoſe own and the ſervices of his Anceſtors had been ſo beneficial to the *Roman* People, ſtood in need of a ruin'd Common-weal, eſpecially when *M. Tullius* forſooth preſerv'd it, an Adventitious Citizen of *Rome*. Which words being cloſely follow'd with other Reproachful Invectives, all humm'd him down, and call'd him Enemy and Parricide.

Then

Then in a Rage, 'Becauſe, *ſaid he*, Thus 'circumvented, I am driven head-long by 'my Adverſaries, I'll extinguiſh the Con-'flagration of my Fortunes with Ruine. And ſo ſaying he flung out of the Senate, and made directly home; there muſing and revolving many Miſchiefs in his Mind: for that he ſaw his Plots upon the Conſul had no ſucceſs; and underſtood beſides, that the City was ſufficiently guarded from all Attempts of Fire. And therefore deeming it his wiſeſt courſe to augment his Army, and before the Legions were enroll'd, to be beforehand with many things that might be uſeful to him in the War, with a few Attendants in a Tempeſtuous Night, he poſted to the *Manlian* Camp. But firſt he left ſtrict Orders with *Cethegus*, *Lentulus* and others, whoſe daring Boldneſs he ſufficiently knew, to ſtrenghthen the Power of the Faction by all the ways they could; to haſten the Deſtruction of the Conſul; to provide for Slaughter, Conflagration, and all the diſmal Executions of War: and that he himſelf in a ſhort time would appear before the Walls of the City. Now while theſe things were thus acted at *Rome*, *C. Manlius* ſent certain Commiſſioners

ners ſelected out of his own Number, to *Q. Marcius Rex*, with Inſtructions to the following Effect:

'We call both Gods and Men to wit-'neſs, Noble General, That we have taken 'up Arms, neither againſt our Country, 'nor to terrify others with the fears of 'danger; but only to protect our Bodies 'from Oppreſſion. Who miſerable, in-'digent, and over-whelm'd with Violence 'and Cruelty of Uſurers, are moſt of 'us deveſted of our Country, but all de-'ſpoil'd of our Reputation, and our For-'tunes. Neither is it permitted any of 'Us, according to the Cuſtom of our 'Fathers, to have the benefit of the Law; 'nor after the loſs of our Patrimonies, to 'enjoy the freedom of our Bodies. Such 'was the ſeverity of the Bankers and the 'Pretor. Yet your Foreſathers in Com-'paſſion to the *Roman* People by their De-'crees reliev'd their Wants: and lately, 'in our Memory, by reaſon ſo vaſt a 'a number were every where endebted, 'by the conſent of all good Men, three 'parts of the Silver Credit were abated, 'and only a fourth part paid in Braſs. 'Nor is it the firſt time that the Common-'People themſelves, either affect Domi-

nion;

'nion; or provok'd to Arms by the Pride 'of the Magiſtrates, have revolted from 'the *Fathers.* But neither do we deſire 'Empire or Wealth, the general Cauſes 'of all the Wars and Conteſts among 'Mortals: 'tis only Liberty we ſee, which 'no man of Courage ever loſes, but his 'Life together with it. We conjure both 'Thy ſelf and the Senate, that you will 'conſult the good of your unfortunate 'fellow-Citizens; that you will reſtore us 'the benefit of the Law, which the In-'juſtice of the *Pretor* has wreſted from 'Us: and that you will not impoſe that 'dire Neceſſity upon Us, to ſeek which 'way to periſh, chiefly in revenge of our 'own Blood.

To this *Q. Marcius* return'd for Anſwer, That if they had any thing to Petition the Senate, they ſhould lay down their Arms, and repair in an humble manner to *Rome.* That the Senate and the *Roman* People were endu'd with that Meekneſs and Compaſſion, that never any Supplicant in vain implor'd their Aſſiſtance. On the other ſide *Catiline*, while he was upon the Road, ſent Letters to all the Conſular Perſonages, and the chiefeſt of the Nobility, That being op-

preſs'd

preſs'd with falſe Accuſations, becauſe he could not withſtand the Faction of his Enemies, he had therefore ſubmitted to Fortune, and was retiring, a willing Exile, to *Marſeilles*: not that he was guilty of ſo great a Crime; but for the Repoſe of the Common-weal; and that no Sedition might ariſe from his contending with the Public. But *Q. Catulus* read other Letters in the Senate, quite different from theſe; which he affirm'd to be deliver'd to him in *Catiline*'s Name, and of which the following Copy gives the ſence.

'*L. Catiline* to *Quint. Catulus*, Greeting. Thy ſingular Fidelity, being aſſur'd of the thing it ſelf, ſo grateful to me in theſe my threatning dangers; gives me the Confidence of this Recommendation. * Wherefore I have determin'd not to ground any Defence upon new Conſultations; yet I have decreed to propound ſatisfaction, as no way conſcious of offending: which in good truth it is not improper for thee to know. At length provok'd with Slights and Contumelies; for that being depriv'd the fruits of all my Labour

* These three Periods are acknowledg'd to be very imperfect in the Original.

'Labour and Induſtry, I could not obtain 'the Dignity I ſtood for, according to my 'innate diſpoſition, I have undertaken the 'public Cauſe of the Unfortunate. Not 'but that I could pay my own Debts by 'the Sale of my Lands; and for what I 'ſtand engag'd for others, the Liberality 'of *Oreſtilla* has been ſuch as to take care 'to diſcharge it out of her own and her 'Daughters Revenues; but becauſe I 'ſaw unworthy Perſons advanc'd to Ho-'nour, my ſelf neglected and thrown by, 'through jealouſie and counterfeited ſuſpi-'cion. For that reaſon I have purſu'd 'thoſe Hopes for preſerving the remain-'der of my Reputation, which, conſi-'dering my Condition, I deem to be ſuf-'ficiently honeſt. While I was about to 'have written more, Intelligence was 'brought me, That Force is preparing. 'I recommend *Oreſtilla* to thy Care, and 'depoſite her in Truſt with thee, Conjur-'ing thee for the ſake of thy own Chil-'dren, to protect her from all Injury. 'Farewel.

But *Catiline* himſelf after he had ſtaid ſome few days with *C. Flaminius* in **Reatinum*, to to Arm the Neighbouring Parts,

* Now *Campo Pendente.*

Parts, already ſollicited and drawn to his Party, he March'd directly to the Camp, to joyn *Manlius* with the Conſular *Faſces*, and other Enſigns of Supream Authority born before him.

When theſe things were known at *Rome*, the Senate pronounc'd both *Catiline* and *Manlius* open Enemies. To all the reſt of the Multitude, thoſe only excepted that were convicted of Capital Crimes, they prefix'd a certain day, before which time, if they departed from their Arms, they ſhould incur no Penalties. Farther alſo they decreed, That the Conſuls ſhould proceed to a Muſter, that *Antony* ſhould follow *Catiline* with his Army, and that *Cicero* ſhould ſtay to take care of the City. At that time, the vaſt Dominion of the *Roman* People ſeem'd to me beyond extreamly miſerable. To whom when all the Conquer'd World, from the Riſing to the Setting Sun, pay'd Homage and Obedience; when they wallow'd at home in Plenty and Tranquillity, which Mortals deem their chiefeſt Bleſſings; that among *Them* there ſhould be ſuch a Crew of fellow-Citizens, ſo fatally, and with ſuch obſtinate Fury bent to ruine themſelves, their Fortunes and the Common-weal.

Common-weal. For after two Decrees of Senate, among ſo vaſt a Multitude, neither did ſo much as one, aſſur'd of great Rewards, make the leaſt Diſcovery of the Conſpiracy; nor any one deſert the Camp of their Rebellious Leader, *Catiline*. Such was the violence of the Diſtemper, which like a Contagion had infected the Minds of all thoſe People. Neither did this Peſtilence ſpread it ſelf, to alienate the Affections of thoſe alone, who were guilty of the Conſpiracy; but even all the Commonalty, covetous of Innovation, applauded *Catiline*'s Proceedings. But this they ſeem'd to do according to their uſual Cuſtom. For alwaies in a City, they who labour under Penury, envy the better Fortune of others; extol the Wicked; abominate the ancient Conſtitutions, covet Novelty, and deteſting their own Conditions, ſtudy Change of all things: they are nouriſh'd, void of Care, by Tumult and Sedition; For that want is eaſily ſupported and cheriſh'd with public dammage. But many Motives carry'd head-long the City Rabble. Firſt of all, who ever they were that in any corner of the Country, ſurpaſs'd in Impudence and Debauchery;

whoever had waſted their Patrimonies by expenſive Lewdneſs; And laſtly, all whom Villany and Crimes the moſt Enormous had Out-law'd from their Native homes; all theſe together empty'd into *Rome*, as into the *Common Sewer* of all Diſorder. Many others remembring *Sylla*'s Conqueſts, while they beheld ſome rais'd from Souldiers to the degree of Senators; others ſo Wealthy, that they liv'd like Princes in the height of Eaſe and Plenty; promiſed every one to themſelves the ſame Enjoyments from ſucceſsful Victory. Moreover the Younger ſort, that wrought hard for a poor Living in the Country, finding the ſweets of Private and Public Liberality, preferr'd the City Eaſe before ſevere and painful Labour. However both Them and all the reſt, the Public Calamity ſupported. So that it is the leſs to be admir'd that Men ſo badly Principl'd, ſo wrapt up in Expectation, ſhould be as little careful for the Common good, as for themſelves. And then again, all thoſe whoſe Parents upon *Sylla*'s Victory, were proſcrib'd, who loſt their Eſtates, and were depriv'd of their Right of Freedom, had the ſame Intereſt in the Succeſs of the War. To which I may add, that whoever

whoever ſided with any other Faction than that of the Senate, rather deſir'd to ſee the Common-wealth diſturb'd, than grow too Potent. And this was a Miſchief, that many years after this time return'd again to the City. For when the Tribunitial Authority was reſtor'd to. *Cn. Pompeius*, and *M. Craſſus*, Young Gentlemen having got the Supream Power into their hands, whoſe Years and Courage were full of mettle and fury, by calumniating the Senate, they began to put the Vulgar into a Ferment; then by Gifts and Promiſes more and more to inflame 'em: and ſo became Eminent and Powerful themſelves. Againſt them the greateſt part of the Nobility contended with all their Might, under colour of defending the Honour of the Senate, to ſupport their own Greatneſs. For to conclude in few words, Whoever in thoſe times diſturb'd the Public Peace, made uſe of ſpecious pretences; while ſome made a ſhew of Protecting the Privileges of the People, and others pretending to advance the Authority of the Senate, had all their different Aims to promote their own Intereſt: neither did they obſerve any Limits of Moderation in their Conteſts, both exer-

cis'd their Victories with Cruelty. But when *Pompey* was ſent againſt the Pyrates, and ſoon after againſt *Mithridates*, the Authority of the People fainted, and the Power of a few encreas'd. Theſe few diſpos'd of Magiſtracies, Offices, Provinces and all things Elſe. They, not to be controul'd, and flouriſhing liv'd free from fear; yet terrifying the Tribunes with their Sentences and Condemnations, to prevent their exaſperating the People againſt their Proceedings; to which purpoſe they were compell'd to abate of their former ſeverities. But ſo ſoon as firſt the hopes of introducing Change in dubious Affairs was offer'd, then the old Conteſt ſet their thoughts and courages at work: So that had *Catiline* been Victor in the firſt Battle, or that the Combat had been equal, certainly a moſt Prodigious effuſion of Blood, and Calamity had afflicted the Common-wealth: neither would it have been in the Power of the Victorious to have made any advantage of their Conqueſt; for that whoever had been more prevalent would have wreſted the Supream Dominion and the Public Liberty from the weary and enfeebl'd. However there were ſeveral without

out the pale of the Conſpiracy, who at the beginning went to joyn with *Catiline*. In which number was *Fulvius*, the Senator's Son; who being Apprehended upon the Road, and brought back, his Father commanded him to be put to death. At the ſame time *Lentulus* alſo abiding at *Rome* in purſuance of *Catiline*'s Orders, made it his buſineſs to ſollicite all ſuch Perſons, whoſe looſe manner of Living, or decay'd Fortunes rendred 'em fit for State-Innovation; not only Citizens, but all ſorts of Perſons whatever, that might be uſeful in the War. To that purpoſe he gave Commiſſion to one *P. Umbrenus* to tamper with the Ambaſſadors of the * *Allobroges* and if he could, to draw 'em in to be Confederates in the War. Believing, that in regard they were both publicly and privately vaſtly in Debt, beſides that the *Gauls* were naturally a Warlike People, they might be eaſily inveigl'd to lay hold of the Oppottunity. This *Umbrenus* having traded much among the *Gauls*, was known to moſt of the Chief Princes of the Cities, and like-

* A People which then Inhabited that part of *France*, of which the chief Cities are now *Geneva*, *Chambery*, *Vienne*, &c.

wiſe knew Them. Therefore without delay, ſo ſoon as he beheld the Embaſſadors in the *Forum*, or Place of uſual Concourſe, after ſome few Queſtions concerning the Condition of the City, and as it were bewailing the Public Calamity, he began to ask 'em, what they thought would be the Iſſue of ſuch deſtructive beginnings. In anſwer to which, when he heard 'em complain of the Covetouſneſs of the Magiſtrates; accuſe the Senate, as from whom there was no hopes of redreſs, and making Lamentations, that only death could terminate their Miſeries; *But I*, ſaid he, *will ſhew ye a way, provided ye will be but Men, how ye may avoid all theſe great and Terrifying Miſfortunes.* The *Allobroges*, their Expectations thus ſtrew'd up, beſought *Umbrenus* to compaſſionate their Condition; aſſuring him, there was nothing too deſperate or difficult which they would not moſt readily undertake, provided it might conduce to diſcharge their City out of Debt. Thereupon he carry'd 'em to *D. Brutus*'s Houſe, as being near the *Forum*, and not altogether a ſtranger to the Conſpiracy, becauſe of *Sempronia*, for that *Brutus* himſelf was not then in Town. Moreover he ſent for

Gabinius,

Gabinius, to the end that Credit might be given to his words. In his hearing he lays open the whole Conſpiracy, names the Confederates, together with ſeveral others, who were no way concern'd, to give the Embaſſadors the more Encouragement; and having ſo done, after they had made him fair Promiſes, he ſent 'em to their Lodgings.

However the *Allobroges* when they came to conſider, were long uncertain and heſitating what Courſe to take. On the one ſide, there was a Ponderous Debt, a prompt Inclination to War, and a charming Proſpect of great Gain from the hopes of Victory. On the other ſide there was greater Wealth and Power, the ſafer courſe, and for uncertain hopes aſſur'd * rewards. And long they rowl'd and tumbl'd theſe Conſiderations in their Minds; but at length the Fortune of the Common-Wealth obtain'd the Victory. Therefore away they go to *Fabius Sanga*, and to him as Patron of their City, diſcover'd the whole Plot, as far as it had been laid open to them. *Cicero* being inform'd of this Diſcovery by

* No leſs then 200000 *Seſterces*, which amounts to 7500 l.

Sanga, gave order to the Embaſſadors to diſſemble ſtrongly their Approbation of the Conſpiracy; that they ſhould apply themſelves to the reſt, and to do their utmoſt endeavour to aſſure themſelves of their Names and Perſons.

At the ſame time there were alſo ſome Commotions in the (a) Hither and (b) Farthermoſt *Gaule*, as likewiſe in (c) *Picenum* among the (d) *Bruttii* and in (e) *Apulia*; but they prov'd to be only Tumults and no more. For the Perſons whom *Catiline* had ſent thither, acted without any conſideration like ſo many Mad men; and with their Midnight Aſſemblies, their diſpoſing to and fro of Arms and Darts, their Hurrying and Buſtling about, occaſion'd more of Terror than Danger. So that *Q. Metellus Celer* the Pretor, when he underſtood by the Senates Decree, the Reaſon of their Deligence, Apprehended and Impriſon'd a great Number of thoſe Buſie fellows; and the ſame did alſo *C. Murena* in the Hither *Gaule*, being Lord Lieutenant of that Province.

(a) *Lombardy* and *Piemont.*
(b) *France* it ſelf.
(c) *La Marca d' Ancona.*
(d) *Calabria.*
(e) Now *Puglia.*

But

But at *Rome*, *Lentulus* with the reſt of the chief Ring-leaders of the Conſpiracy, having as they thought a ſufficient ſtrength about 'em, reſolv'd, that ſo ſoon as *Catiline* was advanc'd as far as *Fieſoli* with his Army, *Beſtia* the Tribune of the People, in a ſet Speech ſhould inveigh againſt *Cicero*'s Proceedings, and lay the *odium* of a moſt terrible War upon the beſt of Conſuls; which being the Signal, the next Night the whole Body of the Conſpirators was to riſe, and every one to act his Part: Though they were reported to have been thus order'd to their ſeveral Poſts. That *Statilius* and *Gabinius*, with a conſiderable number, ſhould ſet fire to twelve convenient Places of the City: to the end that in the Hurry of that Tumult, there might be the more eaſy acceſs to the Conſul, and ſuch others as were deſign'd to be murdred. That *Cethegus* ſhould beſet *Cicero*'s Houſe, and by main force make way to his Perſon. Others were to attempt others; and the Sons of the Families, of whom the greateſt part were of the Nobility, were to murder their Parents; and thus when all the whole City was in a general Conſternation, diſmay'd with Fire

and

and Sword, the next work was to force their way through the Guards, and march directly to meet *Catiline*. In the midſt of theſe Preparations and Counſels, *Cethegus* often complain'd of the ſloath and ſlackneſs of the Confederates: that by heſitation and delay, they loſt great Opportunities; that in dangers of that Nature, Execution not Conſultation was requir'd: and then proffer'd, if only a few would ſtand by him, ſince others were ſo faint and tender hearted, himſelf to lead the way into the Senate Houſe: for being naturally fierce, choleric, and prompt of hand, his chiefeſt Confidence was in Expedition.

In the mean time the *Allobroges* according to *Cicero*'s Inſtructions, being introduc'd by *Gabinius*, met the reſt of the Conſpirators; at what time they requir'd from *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius* and *Caſſius* an Oath which they might carry Sign'd to their Magiſtrates and fellow Citizens; for that elſe they would never be induced to engage in ſuch a weighty Enterprize; which they, ſuſpecting nothing, readily gave. *Caſſius* alſo promis'd to be with 'em in a ſhort time, but left the City a little before the Embaſſadors.

baſſadors. But when they went, *T. Volturcius* of *Crotona* was order'd to attend 'em, and to procure a mutual Confirmation of the League between the *Allobroges* and *Catiline*, and an Exchange of the Articles on both ſides. He alſo ſent a ſhort Letter by *Volturcius* to *Catiline*, to this effect.

'Who I am thou wilt underſtand by 'the Meſſenger I have ſent thee. Be ſure 'to conſider the vaſtneſs of the Danger 'wherein thou art; and remember that 'thou art a Man. Conſider, what thy 'Affairs require, and beg Aſſiſtance from 'all, even from the Loweſt.

Moreover he had Inſtructions to admoniſh him by word of mouth, that ſeeing he was adjudg'd an Enemy by the Senate, for what Reaſon would he refuſe the worſt of Slaves? that all things were ready in the City according to his Orders; and that he ſhould not delay to make his Approach a little nearer.

Having thus far in this manner proceeded, upon the Night appointed when they were to go, *Cicero*, who was inform'd of every thing by the Embaſſadors, gave Orders to the Pretors, *C. Pomptinius*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, to ſurprize the Embaſſadors

ſadors and their Train ſo ſoon as they, arriv'd at the *Mulvian** Bridge; unfolded to 'em the Reaſon, why they were ſent, and bid 'em act in other things as they ſaw occaſion. They being Military men that underſtood buſineſs, having Poſted their Guards without the leaſt diſturbance, as they were commanded, beſet the Bridge; ſo that when the Embaſſadors, together with *Volturcius* came to the Place, preſently there was hideous bawling and tearing of Throats on both ſides. But the *Gauls* underſtanding the Deſign, yielded forthwith to the Pretors. *Volturcius* at firſt encouraging the reſt, defended himſelf a while with his Sword from the Multitude; but finding he was deſerted by the Embaſſadors, after he had with many Imprecation's adjur'd *Pomptinius*, with whom he was acquainted, to ſerve him with his Intereſt, at length fearful and diſtruſtful of his Life, he ſurrendred himſelf to the Pretors, as if they had been Enemies.

* Now *Ponte Molle* two miles from *Rome.*

This being done, an exact Relation of all things was ſent to the Conſul; who at the ſame time was no leſs over anxious than over joy'd. He rejoic'd, for that the Conſpiracy

Conſpiracy being now diſcover'd, the City was wreſted from the Jaws of danger. But his trouble was no leſs extream, ſeeing ſo many Eminent Citizen's the detected Authors of ſo foul a Crime, what was to be done. Their Puniſhment was greivous to him, and their Impunity the ruin of the Common-weal. But at length recovering his Reſolution, he commanded *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, *Gabinius* to appear before him; alſo *Ceparius* of *Tarracina*, who it ſeems was gone for *Apulia*, to raiſe the ſlaves; the reſt attended without delay. The Conſul himſelf, taking *Lentulus* by the hand, becauſe he was a Pretor, lead him into the Senate; the reſt he order'd to be ſent to the Temple of Concord under ſtrong Guards. Thither he ſummons the Senate, and before a great Appearance of that Order, cauſes *Volturcius* and the Embaſſadors to be brought in; and commands *Valerius Flaccus* to bring in the little Pacquet of Letters which he had receiv'd from the Embaſſadors.

Volturcius being Examin'd concerning his going out of Town, and the Letters, what was his deſign, or what the cauſe of his Journey; at firſt fram'd ſeveral fictitious ſtories, and ſhifted off the Conſpiracy; but being

being commanded to delare the Truth upon the Public Faith, he unfolded all things as they were tranſacted; that he was ſome days before drawn in by *Gabinius*, and *Ceparius*; but that he knew no more than the Embaſſadors; only he had heard from *Gabinius*, that *P. Autronius*, *Ser. Sylla*, *L. Vargunteius*, and many others were involv'd in the ſame Confedracy. The *Gauls* confeſs'd the ſame things. But as for *Lentulus*, who diſſembl'd and veil'd the Truth, they convinc'd him not only by Letters, but from ſeveral brags that he was wont to make in Public, That the Kingdom of *Rome* was aſcertain'd to three *Cornelii* by the Propheſies contain'd in the *Sibilline Books*. That *Cinna* and *Sylla* had had their Turns, and that he was the Third, whoſe Fate it ſhould be to rule the *Roman* People: Moreover that from the Burning of the Capitol, the twentieth Year was now arriv'd, which the Soothſayers from ſeveral Prodigies had foretold, ſhould be deeply dy'd with Civil Blood. Therefore the Letters being read, after the Criminals had all acknowledg'd the Seals to be *Lentulus*'s, the Senate decreed, That *Lentulus*, being degraded from the Magiſtracy, and the

reſt

reſt, ſhould be confin'd in free Priſons. Therefore *Lentulus* was committed to the Cuſtody of *P. Lentulus Spinther* who was * *Edile*, *Cethegus* to the care of *Q. Cornificius*; *Statilius* to *C. Cæſar*; *Gabinius* to *Marcus Craſſus*; *Ceparius* (for by this time he had been apprehended upon the Road and brought back) to *Cn. Terentius* the Senator.

*The *Ediles* were Officers who had charge of repairing the Temples and publicHouſes, and look'd after the Weights & Meaſures.

And now the Conſpiracy being detected, the Common People, who before, out of their uſual deſire of Change, had too much favour'd the War, now vearing about, curs'd *Catiline*'s Deſigns, applauded *Cicero* to the Skies, and as if they had been ſnatcht from the Jaws of Bondage, by their Geſtures and their Countenances fill'd the Streets with Joy and Exultation. For other Acts of War would rather afford 'em the Advantages of Plunder, than bring detriment to *Them*; whereas they lookt upon firing of Cities to be cruel, exceſſive and chiefly pernicious to themſelves; ſince all their Riches conſiſted in their Cloths and Houſhold-ſtuff.

The

The next day after, one *L. Tarquinius* was brought before the Senate, who was reported to have been apprehended upon the Road, going to *Catiline*. This Man promising to make great Diſcoveries of the Conſpiracy, if he might be aſſur'd of his Pardon; and being thereupon commanded by the Senate to declare his knowledge, inform'd the Senate the ſame things which *Volturcius* had done, concerning the Firing of the City, the Maſſacre of all the honeſt Party; and the March of the Enemy; and farther, that he was ſent by *M. Craſſus*, to give him an Account of what had happen'd, leaſt he ſhould be deterr'd to hear that *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and ſo many others of the Conſpirators were in Cuſtody; and to adviſe him ſo much the rather to haſten his March to the City, as a means to revive the Spirits of the reſt, and the better to ſecure 'em from the danger they were in. But when *Tarquinius* named *Craſſus*, a Perſon Illuſtrious by Extraction, vaſtly Rich and moſt eminently Potent, ſome deeming the thing incredible, others, tho' they thought it true, yet becauſe at ſuch a Conjuncture, the Power of ſo great a Man was rather to be appeas'd and qualify'd, than exaſperated, the moſt part obnoxious

to

to *Craſſus*, upon the ſcore of their Private concerns, unanimouſly cry'd out, That the Witneſs was Perjur'd, and demanded a Reference upon the whole Matter; therefore by *Cicero*'s Advice, it was Decreed in a full Senate, That the Evidence was lookt upon as falſe, that *Tarquinius* ſhould be laid in Irons: and that he ſhould never be admitted more to give his Teſtimony, unleſs he diſcover'd the Perſon who had put him upon inventing ſuch a falſhood. Some Perſons at that time were of opinion, that this ſame Evidence was contriv'd by *P. Autronius*, to the end that *Craſſus* being Impeach'd, might be the more ready to Protect the reſt by his Power, when involv'd in the ſame danger. Others reported that *Tarquinius* was Suborn'd by *Cicero*, leaſt *Craſſus*, undertaking the Patronage of wicked Miſcreants, according to his Cuſtom, ſhould joyn with Them to diſturb the Public Peace. And I have afterwards heard *Craſſus* himſelf declare, that the Affront, though of ſo high a Nature, was put upon him by *Cicero*.

At the ſame time neither *Q. Catulus*, Preſident of the Senate, nor *C. Piſo* could either by Favour, Importunity or Bribes prevail with *Cicero*, that *C. Caſar* might

be falſely accus'd either by the *Allobroges*, or any other Evidence: For they were both his Mortal Enemies. *Piſo*, as being * Condemn'd upon an Impeachment of Bribery, under pretence that he had unjuſtly puniſh'd with death a certain *Piemontane*. *Catulus* burning with Revenge, for that upon his ſtanding for the Supream Pontificate in his Hoary years, C. *Cæſar* a young man had carry'd againſt him. And now they thought they had an Opportunity put into their hands, for that *Cæſar*, partly through his exceſſive Liberality in Private, and partly through the Profuſeneſs of his Public Preſents, had run himſelf deeply in Debt. But when they could not perſwade the Conſul to ſuch a diſhonourable Compliance, they themſelves by runing perſonally from place to place, and ſpreading falſe Reports of what they had heard from *Volturcius* and the *Allobroges*, had heap'd no ſmall *Odium* upon him, inſomuch that ſome of the *Roman* Knights, who guarded the *Temple of Concord* with their Partiſans in their hands, whether mov'd thereto by the Greatneſs of the Danger, or the Inconſtancy of their own

* But being defended by *Cicero* himſelf.

own Affections, to make their zeal for the Common-wealth the more remarkable, threatn'd him with their naked Weapons as he came forth of the Senate.

While theſe things were tranſacted in the Senate, and that Rewards were decreed to the Embaſſadors of the *Allobroges* and *Volturcius*, *Lentulus*'s Enfranchiz'd ſlaves, and ſome few of his Clients taking ſeveral Roads, made it their buſineſs to ſollicite Handicraft Tradeſmen and Slaves, and incenſe 'em to his Reſcue; while others ſought out every where for the Ring-leaders of the Rabble, who for Money were wont to perplex the Common-wealth. *Cethegus* alſo by Meſſengers, beſought his Family and his Enfranchiz'd ſlaves, all fellows cull'd and exercis'd in Inſolence, to make a Body, and by force of Arms to break in upon him. The Conſul therefore underſtanding how theſe Plots were laid, having plac'd his Guards as the time and the occaſion requir'd, after he had ſummon'd a Senate, made a Motion what ſhould be done with thoſe Priſoners that were under Cuſtody. For not long before a full Senate had adjudg'd 'em to have acted againſt the Commonwealth.

Upon that Motion therefore *D. Junius Silanus*, being first of all desir'd to deliver his Opinion, in regard he was at that time design'd Consul, had declar'd, That not only they who were in Prison, but also *L. Cassius*, *P. Furius*, *P. Umbrenus*, and *Q. Annias*, so soon as they were apprehended, should be put to death. Though afterwards being mollify'd by *Caius Cæsar*'s Oration, he had protested his Compliance altogether with *Tiberius Nero*'s Vote, which Report he did not think however fit to have been made till the Guards were doubled. But *Cæsar* being ask'd his Opinion by the Consul, deliver'd himself in these words.

'It behoves all Men whatever, Conscript Fathers, who deliberate in dubious Affairs, to be void of Hatred, Friendship, Anger and Compassion: for where these things obstruct, the Mind can never have a perfect Prospect of Truth: neither was there ever any man who at the same time, could indulge his private desires and the public good. When we fortify our resolution, it grows vigorous; If Passion possess us, that prevails, and Resolution languishes I want not plenty of Presidents, Conscript Fathers, to shew what Kings,

'Kings, and People upon the Motives of 'Anger or Pity, have ill conſulted in the 'main. But I rather chooſe to cull out 'what our Anceſtors have done in Oppo-'ſition to their Paſſions. In the *Macedo-'nian* War, which we wag'd with King '*Perſeus*, the City of the *Rhodians*, mighty 'and magnificent, and grown up to that 'height by the Aſſiſtance and Support of 'the *Roman* People, became treacherous 'and injurious to Us. Yet when the War 'was ended, and that the *Rhodian* Ingra-'titude came to be debated, our Anceſtors, 'leaſt any might ſay hereafter they had 'begun a War in thirſt of Riches, rather 'then ſenſible of ſuffer'd wrongs, they 'diſmiſs'd the *Rhodians* home unpuniſh'd. 'Alſo in all the Punic Wars, when fre-'quently the *Carthaginians*, both in Peace, 'and by breach of Treaties, had per-'petrated many abominable Acts, never 'did they, when opportunity offer'd, do 'the like; they rather ſought what might 'become their own Dignity, then what 'they might juſtly retaliate upon them. 'This therefore, you are to take care of, 'Conſcript Fathers, that the Impious 'Crime of *Lentulus* and the reſt, do not 'ſway your Paſſions more prevalently

'then your honour; and that you be not 'more indulgent to your Anger, then 'your Flame. For if there might be 'found a punishment to equalize their 'Misdeeds, then I approve your Counsel 'newly taken; but if the vastness of their 'Crimes surpasses all our Invention, 'tis 'then my Judgment, that we make use of 'those which are provided by the Law. 'Most of those Persons, who before me, 'have declar'd their Opinions, have 'sedately and nobly compassionated the 'Condition of the Common-wealth: they 'have number'd up the Cruelties of War, 'and what most usually befalls the van-'quish'd: Rapes of Virgins, and Young 'Boys; Infants torn from the Embraces of 'their Parents; Mothers of Families at 'the Lustful pleasure of the Victors; 'Temples and Private Houses robb'd and 'and plunder'd; nothing but Fire and 'Sword; All places lastly strew'd with 'scatter'd Arms and Carcasses, besmear'd 'with Blood, and fill'd with Lamentati-'ons. But by the Immortal Gods, what 'did that long Oration drive at? was it 'to raise your Antipathy to the Conspi-'racy? that is to say, who e're he be, whom 'so prodigous, and so terrible a Fact cannot exasperate,

'exaſperate, that ſame Oration ſhall incenſe.
'It cannot be ſo; neither does any Man look
'ſlightly upon his own Injuries: nay, many
'bear 'em with leſs Patience then they ought
'to do. But, Conſcript Fathers, there is one
'ſort of Liberty to ſome allow'd, another
'ſort to others. They who lead their Lives
'in Obſcurity, if at any time they commit an Error in heat of Anger, few take
'Notice: their Reputation and their Fortunes are alike. But they who being arriv'd
'to large Command, live in the ſoaring
'height of Greatneſs, are always in view,
'and their actions are beheld by all men.
'So that in Fortunes moſt conſpicuous,
'there's the leaſt of Liberty; there's no
'permiſſion to Love or Hate, much leſs
'to be in Wrath. What is call'd Anger
'among others, in Government bears the
'name of Pride and Cruelty. I muſt confeſs, 'tis my Opinion, Conſcript Fathers,
'that all the Tortures in the World are
'far inferior to their Crimes. But moſt
'Men ſtill remember what was laſt; and
'in the ſufferings of the moſt Impious,
'forgeting the Fact, diſcourſe of nothing
'but the puniſhment, if more ſevere
'then ordinary. As for *Decius Silanus*, a
'Man moſt Brave and Stout, I am cer-

'tainly convinc'd, that what he has ſaid, 'he has ſpoken out of his Affection to the 'Common-wealth; and that he is byaſs'd 'neither by Favour nor Enmity, in a 'concern of this Importance; ſo well I 'have been acquainted with the Conditi-'ons and Moderation of the Perſon. But 'his Judgment in this caſe ſeems to me 'not cruel, no, (for what can be thought 'cruel when inflicted upon ſuch Men) but 'without preſident in our Common-wealth. 'For certainly, *Silanus*, either Fear or In-'jury orerul'd thee, being the deſign'd 'Conſul, to decree an unuſual ſort of 'Puniſhment. To talk of fear is altogether 'now ſuperfluous, ſeeing that by the propi-'tious diligence of our moſt Illuſtrious 'Conſul, ſuch numerous Guards are up in 'Arms. As to the Puniſhment, I ſhall 'ſay no more, then what is obvious from 'the thing it ſelf; that in Sorrow and 'Affliction, 'tis death not torment that 'ſurceaſes all our Miſeries: that puts an 'end to all the ſufferings of Mortals: be-'yond that, there is no room for Care or 'Joy. But wherefore, by the Immortal 'Gods, didſt thou not add this farther to 'thy Sentence, that firſt they ſhould be 'rigorouſly ſcourg'd? Was it becauſe

the

'the * *Porcian* Law forbids it? However 'there are other Laws 'that Privilege con- 'demn'd Citizens from 'loss of Life, command- 'ing only Banishment.

* By which no *Roman* Citizen could be Whipt.

'Or was it because it is more grievous to 'be Whipt then to be put to Death? Pray, 'what can be too grievous or severe for 'men to suffer, once Convicted of so 'great a Crime? But if it be the slighter 'punishment, why so observant of the Law 'in the Lesser Infliction, when thou hast 'broken it in the Greater? But who dares 'question what shall be Decreed against 'Parricides of the Common-wealth? A 'time, a day to come; nay Fortune her 'self, that at her pleasure governs all the 'World: Then, whatever happens will 'deservedly befall 'em. But as for you, 'Conscript Fathers, consider what ye de- 'cree against these Men. All bad Ex- 'amples derive their Original from bad 'beginnings. For when the Government 'shall fall into the hands of the Ignorant 'and Unjust, that new Example will be 'transferr'd from the worthy and fit, to 'the unworthy and unfit to rule. The 'Lacedæmonians having vanquish'd the

'Athenians

'*Athenians* impos'd upon 'em Thirty Per-
'ſons to manage the Public Affairs. Theſe,
'firſt of all, began to put to death, though
'uncondemn'd, the worſt of Men, and
'only ſuch as had deſerv'd the General
'hatred: at this the People rejoyc'd, and
'cry'd twas juſtly done. But when this
'Liberty augmented and grew bold, then
'Will and Pleaſure raigning, Good and Bad
'were put to Death without diſtinction,
'and the City under Bondage and Oppreſ-
'ſion, pay'd ſeverely for their fooliſh joy. In
'our remembrance, *Sylla* then Victorious,
'caus'd *Damaſippus* and others that were
'grown up to the prejudice of the Com-
'monwealth, to be put to Death; and, Who
'did not applaud the Fact? Such as they,
'they cry'd, Men Impious and Factious, that
'with Sedition did nothing but diſturb
'the Public Peace, deſerv'd a Public Ex-
'ecution. But that very thing was the
'beginning of horrid Calamity and Blood-
'ſhed. For as every one had a fancy to
'this or that Neighbours Houſe or Farm,
'his Furniture or his Cloaths, he took
'care to get him Liſted in the number of
'the Perſons that were to be proſcrib'd.
'And thus, they who rejoyc'd at the
'death of *Damaſippus*, ſoon after them-
'ſelves

'ſelves were dragg'd to Maſſacre. Nor 'was there any end of Slaughter, till '*Sylla* had gorg'd his followers with the 'wealthy Spoils of the Innocent. Not 'that I am jealous in the leaſt of *M. Tul-* 'lius, or fear the ſame Confuſion in theſe 'times. But in a ſpacious Common-wealth, 'there are men of various Inclinations 'and Deſigns. At another time, and by 'another Conſul, that has an Army at 'his heels, ſomething may be believ'd that 'may beget miſunderſtanding. And when 'the Conſul once by virtue of this Preſident 'has drawn his Sword in purſuance of a 'Decree of Senate, who ſhall then limit his 'Ambition, or moderate his Paſſion? Our 'Anceſtors, Conſcript Fathers, never want-'ed either Counſel or Courage: nor was 'their Pride ſo great, but that they could 'imitate Foreign Cuſtoms when they found 'em Advantageous. Their Military Wea-'pons and Darts they borrow'd from 'the *Samnites*; and moſt of their Enſigns 'of Majeſty from the *Tuſcans*. Laſtly, 'whatever they beheld proper and uſeful 'either among their Enemies or their 'Allies, that they put in Execution with 'an eager Induſtry, chooſing rather to 'imitate then to deſpiſe. Therefore at

'that

'that time, they only Scourg'd offending 'Citizens, and thoſe that were condemn'd 'for greater Crimes they put to death. 'But when the Common-wealth encreas'd 'in Power, and Factions became Potent 'through multitude of Citizens, then the '*Porcian* Law and other Statutes were 'ordain'd which only puni'd Capital 'Offenders with exile. Which is the Rea-'ſon, *Conſcript Fathers*, that I take to be 'of higheſt Importance, why we ſhould not 'make any Innovations in our Counſels. 'For certainly their Wiſdom and Vertue 'was greater, who rais'd ſo vaſt an Em-'pire from ſuch ſmall beginnings, then 'ours who hardly can preſerve what they 'ſo bravely won. Would we therefore 'have the Priſoners ſet at Liberty to en-'creaſe the number of *Catiline*'s Army? 'No, but this is my Opinion, that their 'Eſtates be put to Sale; their Perſons kept 'in durance apart, in the ſeveral Munici-'pal Towns, which are moſt reſponſible 'for their forth-comming: that after this, 'the Senate be no farther mov'd, nor 'the People tamper'd with in this Matter, 'and that whoever ſhall do otherwiſe, 'the Senate ſhall adjudge him to act a-'gainſt the Common-wealth and the Pub-'lic Safety.

After

After *Cæſar* had made an end of ſpeaking, ſome by word of mouth, others to various Opinions variouſly delivered their Aſſents. But *M. Portius Cato*, being ask'd his Judgment, made the following Oration.

'I am quite of another Opinion, Conſcript Fathers, when I conſider our Affairs and our Dangers, and ponder in my mind the Judgements of ſome Perſons. They ſeem to me to have diſcours'd concerning the puniſhment due to thoſe Perſons who have rais'd a War againſt their own Country, their own Parents, their Religion and Liberty. But the Conjuncture admoniſhes us to debate, rather how to preſerve our ſelves from their Attempts, then what Penalties to inflict upon 'em. For other Miſchiefs we may proſecute when acted; this, we muſt take care to prevent; leaſt after it has done the fatal Execution, it be too late to conſult Opinions. But by the Immortal Gods, I appeal to you your ſelves, who always had a greater value for your Houſes your Mannors, your Statues and your Pictures, then for the Commonwealth, if you have a deſire ſtill to hold faſt thoſe things whatever they be, which you embrace and hug with ſo much Affection

and

'and Content; whether this be a time of 'leasure for your Pleasures: therefore for 'shame awake at length, and save the Com-'mon-wealth. Neither our Tributes, nor the 'Wrongs of our Allies, but our Liberty and 'our Lives lye now at stake. Frequently, 'Conscript Fathers, I have deliver'd my 'self in this Assembly: often have I com-'plain'd of the Luxury and Avarice of our 'fellow Citizens; and for that reason have 'contracted the Enmity of many Men. 'I who never pardon'd in my self the 'least Error of my own Thoughts, could 'not easily forgive the Misdemeanors of 'Passion and Ambition in others. Of 'which though you took little Cognizance, 'yet such was then the same Condition of 'the Common-wealth, that it's united 'Power could brook your negligence: 'But now the question is not whether we 'shall be able to support our selves by good 'and laudable Customs; not how large, 'nor how magnificent the *Roman* Empire 'is; but whether these things, whatever 'they be, shall be ours, or that our 'Enemies must be allow'd their share. In 'this case, shall any man talk to me 'Mildness and Pity? Certainly we have 'long since lost the true Significations of

'words.

'words. Since the Prodigal diſpoſal of 'other mens Eſtates is call'd *Liberality*; 'and Boldneſs in evil Enterpriſes goes by 'the name of *Fortitude*. And between theſe 'two Extreams the Common-wealth is 'ſeated. Well then, ſince their good Na-'tures are ſuch, let 'em be Liberal of their 'Friends Eſtates; let 'em be merciful to 'thoſe that rob the Public Treaſury; let '"em not be prodigal of our Blood; and 'while they are ſo ſparing to a few notori-'ous Villains, go about to ruin all honeſt 'Men. Well and Learnedly has *C. Cæſar* 'diſcours'd of Life and Death in this As-'ſembly; deeming, as I believe, thoſe "things to be Fables, which are taught 'us concerning Hell; that the Wicked are 'reſerv'd in Places horrid, dark and 'frightful, at a diſtance from the Juſt. 'Therefore it was his Opinion that their 'Eſtates ſhould be put to ſale, and their 'Perſons be ſent to the particular Munici-'pal Towns, leaſt if they ſhould be kept 'in *Rome*, they might be reſcu'd by their 'Confederates in the Conſpiracy, or by 'the tumultous Rabble. As if all the profli-'gate Villains were only at *Rome*, and not 'diſpers'd over all *Italy*; and as if auda-'cious boldneſs were not like to be more

'prevalent

'prevalent in places where there was leſs
'power to oppoſe it. Wherefore certainly
'this advice was very frivolous, if he have
'any fear of them, as dangerous Perſons;
'but in the general Conſternation of all
'Men, if he alone be not afraid; the more it
'concerns me to look both to my ſelf and
'you. Therefore when you ſhall make
'any Decree concerning *P. Lentulus* and
'the reſt, aſſure your ſelves the ſame Decree
'will reach both *Catiline*'s Army and all
'the Conſpirators: the more ſeduloufly
'and vigorouſly you act in thoſe Affairs,
'the more their Courage will be daunted;
'but if they find you once remiſs and timo-
'rous, there's nothing then will ſtop their
'Fury. Never believe our Anceſtors en-
'larg'd our Common-wealth from ſmall
'to great by force of Arms. For were
'it ſo, it would be much more ſpendid
'now, ſince we are much more numerous
'in Allies and number of People; far bet-
'ter provided with Weapons and Horſes.
'But other things were thoſe that made
'them Great; all which we want: Sedulі-
'ty at home and juſt Command abroad:
'a Mind in Conſultation free, nor favouring
'the Crime, nor obnoxious to Paſſion:
'Inſtead of theſe, we flouriſh in Luxury

and

'and Avarice; in public want, and pri-
'vate opulency: Wealth we applaud, but
'follow Sloth: between the Good and
'Bad there's no diſtinction: but Ambiti-
'on enjoys all the Rewards of Vertue.
'Nor is it a thing to be admir'd; be-
'cauſe you never adviſe together for the
'common Good, but ſeparately co ſult
'your own Intereſts: becauſe at home
'you ſerve your Pleaſures, and here en-
'ſlave your ſelves to Profit or Favour.
'From whence it comes to paſs that Vio-
'lence invades the empty Common-
'wealth. The moſt Illuſtrious of our
'Fellow-Citizens have conſpir'd to burn
'their Countrey; to revolt and war they
'inflame the *Gauls*, the mortal Enemies
'of the *Roman* Name; and the General
'of the Rebels himſelf is with his Army
'almoſt at our doors. And do ye now
'at ſuch a time as this ſit lingring and
'ſtaggering what to do with Enemies ap-
'prehended within your walls? My O-
'pinion is, ye ſhould take pity of 'em.
'They are young men that have offend-
'ed through Ambition; and therefore
'give 'em their Liberty and their Wea-
'pons to boot; but aſſure your ſelves,
'this Clemency and Compaſſion of yours,

'if they have liberty to uſe their Armies,
'will turn to all our Sorrows. 'Tis true,
'Miſery is a grievous thing, but you are
'not afraid of it. Yes, moſt of all; but
'through Sloth and want of Courage,
'you ſit ſtaring one upon another, expect-
'ing help from the Immortal Gods, who
'oft have ſav'd this Commonwealth in all
'her greateſt Dangers. But the Aſſiſtance
'of the Gods is not obtain'd by Female
'Importunity and Supplication: Proſpe-
'rity attends on watchfulneſs, activity,
'and well conſulting. When we aban-
'don our ſelves to Sloth and Puſillani-
'mity, 'tis in vain to implore the Gods,
'who are offended and angry. Among
'the reſt of our Progenitors, *A. Manlius*
'*Torquatus*, caus'd his own Son to be
'put to death; becauſe he had fought
'the Enemy contrary to his Command;
'ſo ſeverely was the valiant Youth cha-
'ſtiz'd for his over-haſty Courage. And
'do you heſitate what to decree againſt
'the moſt cruel of Parricides? Oh!
'but 'tis pity to puniſh 'em, conſidering
'their former vertuous Lives: However,
'I'll give ye leave to be merciful to *Lentu-*
'*lus*'s Dignity, if ever he were merciful
'to his own Chaſtity, his own Honour;

'if

'if e'er he ſpar'd the Gods or Men. Par-
'don *Cethegus*'s his Youth, becauſe this
'is but the ſecond time he has rebell'd a-
'gainſt his Country. For what do I talk
'of *Gabinius*, *Statilius* and *Ceparius*, who
'had they had the leaſt Grain or Sence
'of Vertue and Reputation, would never
'have engag'd in ſuch Deſigns againſt
'the Commonwealth. Laſtly, Conſcript
'Fathers, were there any room for an
'Overſight, readily would I brook that
'you ſhould be corrected by the Matter
'of Fact it ſelf, ſince you ſo little regard
'my words; but we are every way ſur-
'rounded. *Catiline* with his Army is ad-
'vanc'd to the very Paſſages of the *Apen-*
'*nine*; other Enemies we have within
'the Walls of the City, and even in our
'Boſoms; no private Preparations can be
'made, no ſecret Conſultations taken:
'For which reaſon, we muſt uſe the
'greater diligence. Therefore 'tis my O-
'pinion; ſince the Commonwealth is
'now upon the Brink of Danger
'through the Sacrilegious Machinations
'of profligate and impious Wretches, who
'being detected by the Diſcoveries of *Vol-*
'*turcius*, and the Embaſſadors of the *Al-*
'*lobroges*, have confeſs'd their joynt Con-

'federacy to murder, burn, and utterly 'deſtroy their Country and their Fellow-'Citizens, together with other enormous 'Cruelties and publick Havock by them 'intended, That capital Puniſhment be 'inflicted upon Them confeſſing, as if they 'had been actually convicted of the 'Crimes.

So ſoon as *Cato* ſate down, all the Conſular Perſonages, and the greateſt part of the Senate applaud his Opinion, and extol his Courage to the Skies; while others are upbraided with the Name of Cowards; but *Cato* is look'd upon by all as great and famous; and a Decree of Senate paſſes in compliance with *Cato*'s Opinion. And here, as being a perſon who have heard and read much more of what renown'd Atchievments the *Roman* People have perform'd both in Peace and War, by Sea and Land, by chance it came into my Mind to conſider, what it was that upheld the management and accompliſhment of ſuch glorious Actions. I knew, That frequently with inconſiderable Bands they had vanquiſh'd numerous Legions of their Enemies: That with ſmall Forces they had wag'd War againſt potent Princes; moreover, That they

they had many times experienc'd the Violence of Fortune: That for Eloquence, the *Greeks*; in Military Glory, the *Gauls* were ſuperior to the *Romans*. But after many ſerious Reflexions and Conſiderations, it was plain to me at length, That the ſurpaſſing Courage of a few Citizens had brought all things to paſs; and thence it fell out, That Poverty overcame Opulency, and Multitudes were vanquiſh'd by a few. But when the Commonwealth was once corrupted by Luxury and Sloth, then the Commonwealth by her own Vaſtneſs ſupported the Vices of her Commanders and Magiſtrates; for that, like a Woman that has done bearing Children, for ſeveral Intervals of Time, *Rome* could not ſhew a famous Perſon: But in my Memory there were two Great Men of different Diſpoſitions and Manners of Living, yet in Vertue both ſurmounting; *M. Cato*, and *C. Cæſar*; whom therefore, ſince ſo fair an Opportunity offer'd, I could not think it became me to paſs by in ſilence, before I had given a true Character, as far as my Wit would reach, of the Genius and Nature of Both. For Nobility of Deſcent, for Years and Eloquence, the difference of Equality was

very ſmall between 'em. In Magnanimity likewiſe equal, as alſo in Glory, thô treading different Paths to purchaſe Fame: For *Cæſar*'s Bounty and Munificence made him great; *Cato*, his Integrity of Life. The firſt, his Clemency and Compaſſion render'd Illuſtrious; the other was admir'd for his Severity: *Cæſar*, by giving, relieving, pardoning; *Cato*, by beſtowing nothing, got Renown: In the one, the Miſerable found a Sanctuary; the other was a Terror to the wicked: The one for his eaſie Temper, the other was applauded for Conſtancy of Reſolution. *Cæſar* had made it his buſineſs to labour and watch; intent upon the occaſions of his Friends, to neglect his own; to deny nothing that was worthy giving; thirſting after great Command, an Army and a new War, that ſo the Luſtre of his Courage might ſhine brightly forth. On the other ſide, *Cato* ſtudy'd Modeſty, Temperance, Decency, but Auſterity above all the reſt: He never contended for Riches with the wealthy, nor with the Factious for Command: but who was moſt couragious with the Stout; moſt modeſt with the Baſhful; and with the moſt abſtemious, who more temperate

and

and continent? He rather chose to be, then seem to be good; so that the less he courted Honour, the more she follow'd him.

Now then so soon as once the Senate had approv'd the Opinion of *Cato*, the *Consul*, believing it the safest way to take the advantage of the Night approaching, for fear of any unexpected Accident in the mean time, commanded the (a) Capital *Triumvirs* to make ready the Place and Instruments for Execution. He, after the Guards were set, brings *Lentulus* himself to the Prison, as the *Prætors* also did the rest. Within the Javl there is a certain place call'd (b) *Tullianum*; after a small Ascent to the left hand about Twelve Foot under ground, being wall'd about on every side, with an Arch of Stone over head; but nasty, dark, offensive to the Smell, and frightful to the Sight. Into this Dungeon *Lentulus* being let down, the *Lictors* or *Executioners*, according

(a) Who were a sort of *High-Sheriffs*, who had the Charge of the Prisons, and were to see Malefactors punish'd.

(b) The *Dungeon*, so call'd, because it was added to the Prison by K. *Tullus*.

according to their Orders, ſtrangl'd him with a Halter. Thus fell that great *Patrician*, deſcended from the Illuſtrious Family of the *Cornelii*, that frequently had held the Conſular Dignity of *Rome*, meeting that fatal End which the Courſe of his Life, and his Actions juſtly merited. In the ſame manner alſo *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, *Gabinius* and *Ceparius* were executed at the ſame time.

While theſe things are thus tranſacted at *Rome*, *Catiline*, of all the Men which he had rais'd himſelf, and thoſe that *Manlius* had muſter'd together, made two (*a*) Legions, and fill'd up his (*b*) Cohorts proportionable to the Number of his Men. Then as Volunteers or Friends came in to him, he made an equal diſtribution of their Number; inſomuch, that in a ſhort time he compleated both his Legions, whereas before he had but Two Thouſand in all. Of theſe, not above a fourth part were arm'd with Souldier-like Weapons; the reſt ſupply'd by Chance and Fortune, carry'd either Country Pike-ſtaves, Javelins, or Stakes made ſharp at the

(*a*) A Legion conſiſted of ſix Thouſand Men.
(*b*) Every Cohort conſiſted of 555 Foot, and 66 Horſe.

the end. But when *Antonius* approach'd with his Army, *Catiline* keeping the Mountains, bent his March ſometimes towards the City, ſometimes towards *Gallia*, carefully avoyding Combat with his Enemy; for he was in hopes of numerous Reinforcements, ſo ſoon as his Confederates had accompliſh'd their work at *Rome*. In the mean time, he refus'd the Aſſiſtance of Slaves and Servants, of which, a great Number had reſorted to him at the beginning, confiding in the ſtrength of the Conſpiracy; and deeming it might alſo diſadvantage his Intereſts, to have intermix'd the Complaints and Cauſe of Free Citizens with * Slaves.

* For if a Servant were diſcover'd in a Muſter of *Roman* Freemen, he was preſently thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* Rock.

But afterwards, when News was brought to the Camp that the Conſpiracy was diſcover'd, and that *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the reſt were executed, the greateſt part, whom hopes of Plunder, and deſire of new revolutions had inveigl'd to the War, dropt from him: with the reſt *Catiline* ſwiftly retires through the rough and difficult Paſſes of the Hills, into the Territory

ritory of the (a) *Piſtorienſes*, with a Deſign to ſteal away privately under the ſhelter of the Woods and Mountains into *Lumbardy*: But *Q. Metellus Celer* lay with three Legions in the Territory of *Picenum*, rightly conjecturing *Catiline*'s Intention, conſidering the diſtreſs of his Affairs. Therefore having intelligence of his March, by certain Fugitives, he preſently raiſes his Camp, and poſts himſelf at the foot of the Mountains, where *Catiline* muſt come down in his March for *Hither Gallia*. Nor was *Antonius* far behind, as he that follow'd the nimble Fugitives with a numerous Army through more level and leſs incumber'd ways.

(a) Now *Piſtoia*.

Catiline therefore, when he perceiv'd himſelf enclos'd with Hills and numerous Enemies, that all things had fail'd his Expectations in the City, and that there was no ſafety in flight, nor hope of Succour, believing it his wiſeſt courſe in ſuch a condition, to try the chance of War, he reſolv'd to hazard his Fortune with (b) *Antonius*: And to that purpoſe, at the Head of all his Army he made this Oration to his Souldiers:

(b) Believing that he being privy in part to the Conſpiracy, would have yielded him an eaſie Victory.

'I

'I am convinc'd by Truth of Hiſtory
'and Experience, fellow Souldiers, that
'Words afford no addititon of Courage
'unto Men; or that a Generals Harangue
'renders a ſloathful Army ſtout, no Cow-
'ardly numbers Valiant. Only what Cou-
'rage is by Nature or generous Practice
'inherent in the Soul of every Man, ſo
'much diſplays it ſelf in Battle. The Per-
'ſon whom neither Glory nor Dangers
'can excite, in vain we ſeek with Speeches
'to inflame: for Conſternation ſtops his
'Ears. However I have call'd ye here to-
'gether, partly to inculcate ſome few
'things into your Breaſts, but chiefly to
'unfold the cauſe of this my ſuddain Re-
'ſolution. You underſtand too well, fel-
'low Souldiers, how great a Calamity
'the ſloath and negligence of *Lentulus* has
'brought upon himſelf and Us; and how
'I am debarr'd from Marching into *Gal-*
'*lia*, in Expectation of conſiderable Suc-
'cours. And now you likewiſe know,
'as well as my ſelf, what is the deſperate
'condition of our Affairs at preſent.
'Two Armies of the Enemy, one from
'the City, another from *Gallia* lie poſted
'in our way. To ſtay longer in theſe
'Parts, had we never ſo great a Deſire,

'ſcarcity

'ſcarcity of Proviſion and other Neceſſa-
'ries will not permit. And whereſoever
'we deſign our March, we have no other
'way but what our Swords muſt open.
'Wherefore I exhort ye, be reſolute, and
'ſtill prepar'd for vigorous Encounter, and
'when ye are ready to joyn Battle, that you
'carry Riches, Honour, Grandeur, your
'Liberty and your Country in your hands.
'If we vanquiſh, all theſe things will be
'ſecure, plenty of Proviſion, Municipal
'Towns and Colonies, will be at our De-
'votion. But if through Cowardice we
'turn our Backs, then all the World will
'be our Enemies; no place nor friend
'will ſhelter them, whoſe Arms could
'not protect 'em. Moreover, Fellow Soul-
'diers, the ſame neceſſity binds not them,
'that ſtrictly obliges us. We Combate
'for our Country, our Liberty and Lives,
''tis only a ſuperfluous kindneſs in them
'to defend in fight the Uſurpation of a
'few; the reaſon wherefore you ſhould be
'more daringly mindful of your Ancient
'Vertue. You had your choice to ſpend
'your ignominious Lives in ſhameful Ex-
'ile; or elſe to live at *Rome*, your Patri-
'monies and Fortunes loſt in Expectation
'of other Mens Eſtates. But becauſe theſe

'things

'things ſeem'd baſe or not to be endur'd,
'you determin'd to follow theſe reſolutions.
'If theſe your laſt determinations pleaſe
'not, the more need of Courage at this
'time. For no man but the Victor, Ex-
'changes War for Peace. And to expect
'Security in Flight when we have thrown
'away our Weapons that were the Pro-
'tection of our Bodies, that's a peice of
'Real Madneſs. Always in Battle they
'are moſt in Danger who are moſt
'afraid, for daring Boldneſs guards yee
'like a Wall. When I conſider your
'Perſons, Fellow Souldiers, and put an
'eſtimate upon your Actions, my hopes of
'Victory are exceeding Great. Your Va-
'lour, Age and Stoutneſs, all encourage me,
'Moreover, your Neceſſities which renders
'even Cowards Valiant: nor will the na-
'ture of theſe narrow paſſages permit
'the Enemy to ſurround us with their
'numbers. However if *Fortune* frown up-
'on your Valour, beware, that unreveng'd
'you do not loſe your Lives, or chooſe
'to be taken, and be maſſacred like Sheep,
'rather then fighting like Men, to leave
'the Enemy a Bloody and mournful
'Victory.

Having

Having thus ſpoken, after he had made a little Pauſe, he commanded the Trumpets to ſound, and leads down his Men in good order into a Champion ground. Then, ſending away all the Horſes, to the end, the danger being equal, the Souldiers might be the more encourag'd, himſelf a foot Embattles his Army, as his number and the Nature of the Place would permit. For finding that the Plain lay between Mountains on the Right, and rugged and ſteep Rocks on the Left, he made a Front of Eight Cohorts. The reſt he drew up more cloſe in Reſerves. Out of theſe he brings all the choice *Centurions* and *Honorary* Reformades, together with the ſtouteſt of all the Common Souldiers well Arm'd, into his firſt Array. To *C. Manlius* he gave the Right, to a Commander of *Fieſoli* the Left Wing. Himſelf with his enfranchiz'd Bondmen, and ſome of *Sylla*'s old Souldiers, that had been diſtributed into * Colonies, he poſted himſelf next to the Eagle, which as they ſaid, had been the Standard which *Marius* made uſe of in the *Cimbric* War. On the other ſide, *C. Antonius*

* Where being ſuddainly before enrich'd by Plunder, they had as ſoon by Prodigality conſum'd their Fortunes.

Antonius being then ſick of the Gout, becauſe he could not be preſent at the Battle, gave the Command of his Army to his Legate, *M. Petreius.* He plac'd the Veterane Cohorts, which he had rais'd of a ſuddain, in the Front; and behind them, the reſt of his Men for a Reſerve. Himſelf Riding about from Rank to Rank, calls every one by their Names, encourages, and intreats 'em to be but mindful, that they fought againſt unarm'd Robbers, for their Country, their Liberty, their Altars and their Houſhold Gods. This Man, an old Souldier, who had been for above thirty years together, either a (*a*) Tribune, or (*b*) Prefect, or (*c*) Legate or Pretor, and all along acquitted himſelf with great Honour, knew moſt of the Souldiers, was acquainted with their ſtouteſt Actions, and by bringing 'em freſh to their Memories, greatly inflam'd their Courages.

(*a*) A Tribune ſeems to be a kind of Major of a Regiment. For it was his Duty to ſee the Souldiers Exercis'd, and well Diſciplin'd, and to attend the Conſul for Orders.

(*b*) A Prefect ſupply'd the Legates place in his abſence.

(*c*) The Legate was a kind of Adjutant General to the Conſul.

Now

Now then *Petreius* having diligently obſerv'd the Enemies Array, and given out his laſt Orders, by ſound of Trumpet Commands the Signal of Battle, and the Cohorts at the ſame time to move ſlowly forward. The ſame did the Enemy; but when they were ſo near to one another, that the Lighter arm'd might well begin the fight with their Miſſive weapons, the Legionaries never ſtood to throw their *(d) Piles* as they were to do, but running with a hideous ſhout on both ſides to the Combat, began a cloſe fight foot to foot with their Swords. The Veteranes, mindful of their Priſtine Bravery, bore vigorouſly upon the Enemy; nor did their Oppoſites make a Timorous Reſiſtance, ſo that the Combat was ſharp on both ſides. All the while *Catiline*, with the moſt active and ſmarteſt of his followers kept ſtill in the head of his Men; ſuccour'd thoſe that were over-power'd, ſupply'd the places of the

(d) Piles were a ſort of Darts like a Boar-Spear, about two Cubits and a half long in the wood, and a Cubit and a half in the Iron head, which was heavy and ſharp, and being thrown with Art, would ſtrike thro' any Armour; with this the Legionaries began the fight at a diſtance and then clos'd.

the wounded with freſh Men; frequently charg'd in Perſon, and perform'd all the Duties of a ſtout Souldier, and experienc'd Commander. *Petreius* therefore perceiving that *Catiline* made a ſtouter Reſiſtance then he expected, orders the Pretorian Cohort to Advance and Charge the very thickeſt of the Enemy; and then it was that all things went to wrack on *Catiline's* ſide, his Men being every where diſorder'd, and every where put to the Sword: which done the Legate flew upon both the Enemies Wings at the ſame time with the ſame fury. *Manlius* and the *Fæſulane* fell among the firſt. But as for *Catiline*, when he ſaw his Army routed, and himſelf left naked with a ſmall Remainder, remembring his Deſcent and his Ancient Dignity, he threw himſelf into the thickeſt of his Enemies, and was there ſlain with his Sword in his hand.

But after the Battle was over, then you might ſee the wonderful Audacity and Reſolution that had reign'd in *Catiline's* Army. For generally the place which every one had ſtood on when alive,

the ſame when dead he cover'd with his Body. Some few indeed, whom the Pretorian Cohort had routed in the middle, lay more diſpers'd, yet all had receiv'd their wounds before, and no man turning his back. Only *Catiline* was found at a diſtance from his own Men among the Carcaſes of his Enemies, with ſome remainder of Life, retaining in his Countenance that Fury and Fierceneſs of Mind which inſpir'd him when alive: and the laſt thing remarkable is this, that of that whole Number, neither in the Fight nor in the Purſuit was any Free-born Citizen taken Priſoner, ſo equally merciful had they all been to their own and the Lives of their Enemies. Nor can we ſay that the Army of the *Roman* People enjoy'd a Victory to be rejoyc'd at, or at the expence of little Blood. For not a Man of forward Bravery, but either fell in the Battle, or was carry'd off deſperately wounded. So that of many, that either out of Curioſity or greedy of Plunder, going to view the Field of Battle, turn'd up the Carcaſes of the Slain, there were hardly any but either knew their Friends, their Gueſts, or their Kindred:

Kindred: and ſome there were who knew their Enemies. Thus Joy and Sorrow, Mourning and Gladneſs variouſly affected the Victorious Army.

The End of the Catilinarian War.

C. Criſpus Salluſtius's

JUGURTH

OR,

JUGURTHINE War.

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1. FAlſely does Human kind complain of the Condition of Life, as if it were too frail and ſhort, and rather under the Dominion of Chance then Vertue. For entertaining contrary thoughts, we ſhall find that there is nothing greater, nothing more excellent then Man himſelf, and that he neither wants power nor length of years, but only Induſtry. For the Captain and Commander of human Life is the Soul, which while it journeys with an eager pace toward Glory, through the paths of Vertue, is ſufficiently preva-

ſent, powerful and eminent, not needing Fortune's aid; which neither can bequeath or take away from any Man his Probity, his Induſtry, or any other vertuous Endowments. But if enſlav'd to lewd deſires, we plunge our ſelves in Luxury and Corporeal Pleaſures; by degrees accuſtom'd to pernicious ſenſuality; when we have once miſpent our Parts, our Strength, our precious Hours in Sloath and Oſcitancy, the Infirmity of Nature is then accus'd, for that the Guilty lay the blame of their folly upon the difficulty of Buſineſs. Whereas if Men were but as ſedulous in laudable Profeſſions, as they are eager in the purſuit of things unprofitable, aud many times extreamly hazardous, they would rather govern then be govern'd by Fortune; and would advance themſelves to that degree of Grandeur, that inſtead of being Mortal, they would become Eternal in Glory.

2. For as all Mankind is compounded of Soul and Body, ſo do alſo all our Affairs and all our Studies follow, ſome the nature of the Body, others of the Soul. Therefore lovely Form, ſuperfluous Riches, ſtrength of Body, theſe in a ſhort time all decay; but the glorious Atchievements of

Wit

Wit and Parts, are like the Soul, Immortal. Laſtly, as there is a beginning, ſo there is an end of all the Bleſſings of Body and Fortune; all things riſing ſet again; and as they grow, grow old. But the Soul, Incorruptible, Eternal, the Guide and Ruler over all Mankind, acts and poſſeſſes all things, not poſſeſs'd it ſelf. And the deprav'd humor of thoſe Men is ſo much the more to be admir'd, who abandoning themſelves to the felicity of bodily Pleaſures, conſume their days in Luxury and Idleneſs, and ſuffer the Wit of Man, then which there is nothing more ſublime, nothing more boundleſs in human Nature, to grow ſtupid and lie fallow through ſluggiſhneſs and want of careful Manuring. More eſpecially ſince the Gifts and Sciences belonging to the Mind, are ſo many and ſo various, by which we may arrive to higheſt degree of Reputation.

3. Yet in the midſt of this Diverſity, neither Magiſtracy, nor Empire, nor any Adminiſtration indeed of Public Affairs to me at this preſent ſeem ſo eagerly to be thirſted after: for Honour is not beſtow'd on Vertue: Neither are they that by Fraud have obtain'd Advancement, ſafe; or for their eminent Authority the more

honeſt. For, for a Man to rule his Country or his Parents by force, though he have Power, and be never ſo much a Corrector of Miſdemeanors, yet is it troubleſom to the Sufferers; eſpecially ſince all Mutations of Affairs portend Slaughter, Exile and other Effects of Hoſtile Violence. Vainly therefore to take pains, and acquire nothing elſe by reſtleſs toil but Hatred of himſelf, is Extremity of Madneſs; unleſs there be any ſo poſſeſs'd with a ſlaviſh and pernicious deſire to ſurrender their Honour and their Liberty to the Power of a Few.

4. But among the Crouds of Buſineſs, which are proper for the Exerciſe of the Wit, the Remembrances of great Tranſactions ſeem chiefly beneficial. Of the Excellency of which Application, ſince many have diſcours'd, I deem it not fit to be repeated: leaſt ſome beſides, may think it Inſolence in me, by Praiſes to extol the Study which my ſelf affects. 'Tis true, that I believe there may be ſome, who, becauſe I have determin'd to live remote from Public Affairs, may give the name of Idleneſs to this ſame Toil of Mine ſo great and profitable: though ſurely none but ſuch, whoſe chiefeſt Induſtry it is to court the *Mobile*,

and

and to ingratiate themſelves by Popular Banquets. Who if they again conſider, both at what time I obtain'd the Magiſtracy, and who they were that could not gain that Honour, and afterwards what ſort of Men were brought into the Senate, certainly they will be then convinc'd, that the Change of my Judgment proceeded rather from Deſert then loytring Drowſineſs, and that greater Advantage will accrew to the Commonwealth from my Leiſure, then the Buſineſs of others. For I have frequently heard, that *Q. Maximus* and *P. Scipio*, the moſt renowned Perſons of our Commonwealth, were wont to ſay, That when they beheld the Statues of their Anceſtors, their Minds were ardently inflam'd to Vertue; not that the Wax or the Figure had ſuch an efficacy in its ſelf; but only that the flame was kindl'd in the breaſts of thoſe Illuſtrious Perſons by the remembrance of paſt Tranſactions; nor could be extinguiſh'd, before their Vertue and Courage had equall'd the Fame and Glory of their Predeceſſors. Quite otherwiſe, who is there now adays that does not ſtrive to outvie his Anceſtors in Riches and Expences, rather then in Probity and Induſtry? Upſtarts alſo, who formerly

formerly were wont by their Vertue to anticipate Nobility, now by Stealth and private Bribery, contemning worthy means, preſs forward to Commands and Honors. As if Pretorſhips and Conſulſhips, and all high Employments whatever, were Noble and Magnificent in themſelves, and not to be eſteem'd and valu'd according to the merit of thoſe Perſons that enjoy'd 'em. But I have been too free, and ran too high, in deteſtation of the corrupted Manners of the Commonwealth. I now return to the Deſign in hand.

5. A War I am about to Write, which the *Roman* People wag'd with *Jugurth* King of the **Numidians*. Firſt becauſe it was a great and furious Conteſt, and Victory various on both ſides: and in the next place for that then it was, the firſt Oppoſition was made againſt the Nobility. Which Contention made a Confuſion of all things both Divine and Human, and proceeded to that degree of mortal Rage, that only War and the Devaſtation of *Italy*, put an end to their Inteſtine Animoſities.

* Where now lie the Kingdoms of *Conſtantina* and *Bugia*, both contain'd within the Kingdom of *Argier*: to which alſo belongs the Gulf of *Eſtora*, formerly *Sinus Numidicus*.

moſities. But before I enter into the beginning of this Story, I muſt look back a little into Antiquity, to the end that all things may be more clearly diſplay'd in orderd to thebetter underſtanding of the reſt.

In the ſecond *Punic* War, when *Hannibal*, Captain of the *Carthaginians*, had broken the Strength of *Italy*, more then ever any one, ſince the Grandeur of the *Roman* Name, *Maſſiniſſa*, King of the *Numidians*, being admitted into a League of Friendſhip by *P. Scipio*, Sirnam'd *Africanus* for his Valour, had perform'd many noble and famous warlike Exploits. In recompence of which, the *Carthaginians* being vanquiſh'd; and *Syphax* taken Priſ'oer, whoſe Power was great, and his Dominions in *Africa* ſpacious at that time, the *Roman* People freely beſtow'd upon the King what Cities and Countries they had then ſubdu'd by force of their own Arms. For which reaſon he continu'd in his Friendſhip to Us advantageous and ſincere, till his Life and Sov'raignty ended both together. After that, his Son *Micipſa* obtain'd the Kingdom, and reign'd ſole Monarch, *Manaſtabales* and *Gulaſſa* his Brothers being carry'd off by Sickneſs. To him were born in lawful Wed-

Wedlock, *Adherbal* and *Hiempſal*, with whom he bred up *Jugurth*, the Son of his Brother *Manaſtabales*, and gave him Royal Education in his Palace, notwithſtanding that *Maſſiniſſa* had left him only in a private Condition, in regard his Mother was no more then a Concubine.

6. Who, when he arriv'd to years of maturity, ſurpaſſing in ſtrength, lovely to behold, but far more vigorous in Parts and Wit, would not be corrupted by Luxury and Eaſe; but according to the Cuſtom of that Nation, enur'd himſelf to Riding, Darting, and to out-run his Equals, to outdo all, and yet to be belov'd by all. Sometimes he ſpent his time in Hunting, and was ſtill the formoſt, or among the formoſt that firſt wounded the Lion or any other wild Beaſts: thus performing moſt, but ſpeaking leaſt of himſelf. With which, altho' *Micipſa* were well pleas'd at the beginning, as believing *Jugurth*'s Courage would be an Honour to his Kingdom; but when he found, in his declining years, and while his Children yet were ſmall, the ſprightly Youth improving daily more and more, then violently diſturb'd with Jealouſies and Fears, he began to revolve many things in his Thoughts. The Na-

Nature of Mortals, greedy of Dominion, and precipitately prone to gratifie their Ambition, terrify'd him; beſides the opportunity of his own and his Childrens Age; enough to overturn the Loyalty of meaner Courages: Add to this the Affections of the *Numidians* kindl'd toward *Jugurth*; which made him anxious whether to contrive the Death of ſuch a man or no, to remove all Occaſions of Sedition or War.

7. In the midſt of theſe Difficulties, when he ſaw that a Man ſo acceptable to the People, could neither be deſtroy'd by Force nor Treachery, in regard that *Jugurth* was a Perſon prompt of his hands, and covetous of Military Honour, he reſolv'd to expoſe him to danger, and to try his Fortune that way. Therefore in the *Numantine* War, *Micipſa* deſigning to ſend the *Romans* a numerous Aſſiſtance both of Horſe and Foot, and hoping his deſtruction, either by daring too far, or through the ſeverity of his Enemies, he gave him the Command of the *Numidians*, which he ſent into *Spain*. But it fell out quite contrary to his Expectations: for *Jugurth*, a Perſon indefatigable, and of a piercing Wit, when once he came

to

to understand the Disposition of *Scipio*, then General of the *Roman* Army, and the Enemies manner of Fighting, by his extream Labour and Diligence, by his modest Obedience, and frequent exposing himself to Danger, arriv'd to such a degree of Reputation, that he was not only greatly belov'd by our People, but equally formidable to the *Numantines*. And indeed, a thing most extraordinary, and rarely to be met with in one single Person, he was not only strenuous in Battel, but safe and shrewd in Counsel: Of which, the one from foresight generally begets Fear; the other from daring and inconsiderate boldness, usually produces Rashness. The General therefore for the most part made use of *Jugurth* in the execution of his most difficult Enterprizes, took him into the number of his Friends, and dayly more and more augmented his Respect and Favour toward him; as being one whose Counsel and Courage seldom fail'd. Besides all this, he had a large Soul, and a Genius most industrious, by which means he had contracted a most familiar Friendship with many of the *Romans*.

At

8. At that time were ſeveral Upſtarts and Noble Perſons in our Army, that preferr'd Wealth before Juſtice and Honeſty, factious, powerful at home, and among our Allies more eminent for their Riches then Vertue; who by oſtentatious Promiſes, did not a little inflame the hopes of *Jugurth*, that ſo ſoon as *Micipſa* dropt into his Grave, himſelf ſhould reign ſole Monarch of *Numidia*; That he was a Perſon accompliſh'd for Sovereign *Rule*, and that all things were put to Sale at *Rome*.

After this, when *Numantia* was levell'd with the Ground, and that *Scipio* had determin'd to diſmiſs his Auxiliaries, and return home, he took *Jugurth* along with him magnificently rewarded, and laden with *Encomiums*, into the Pretorian Pavilion, before the whole Aſſembly of the Chief Officers; and there admoniſh'd him in ſecret, rather publicly then privately to continue his Friendſhip with the *Roman* People; leſt by ill beſtowing his Bounty, he might happen to purchaſe with danger, from a few, that which belong'd to many: That if he took the right Courſe, Glory and the Kingdom would drop of themſelves into his Boſom;

Bosom; but that if he made too much haste, his own Money would throw him headlong into Ruin.

9. After these Admonitions, he dismiss'd him with certain Letters which he was to deliver to *Micipsa*, to this effect:

'Thy *Jugurth*'s Courage has been highly conspicuous in the *Numantine* War, 'which I am assur'd will be acceptable 'News for Thee to hear. By Us he is 'highly respected for his Merits; and 'that he may have the same Esteem from 'the Senate and People of *Rome*, we shall 'mainly endeavour. I congratulate thy 'Happiness for our Friendships sake; 'for thou enjoy'st a Subject worthy of 'thy self, and thy Father *Massinissa*.

The King therefore, when he found true by the Generals Letters what he had heard before by Report, smitten as well with the Courage, as the Loveliness of the Person, allay'd his Anger, and resolv'd to try whether he could vanquish him by Acts of Grace and Favour: To which purpose he adopted him, and by his last Will left him Co-heir of the Kingdom with

with his Sons; and ſome few years after, waſted with Age and Sickneſs, perceiving the Concluſion of his Days at hand, he is ſaid to have us'd the following Admonitions to *Jugurth* in the hearing of his Friends and Kindred, as alſo of his Two Sons, *Adherbal* and *Hiempſal.*

10. 'When thou wert young & helpleſs, 'Jugurth, after thou hadſt loſt thy Fa-'ther, without Hopes or Maintenance, I 'took thee into my Kingdom, believing 'thou wouldſt prove equally grateful both 'to me and to my Children, ſhould I have 'any, for favors heap'd upon thee: Nor 'was I deceiv'd in my good Opinion: 'For, to omit thy other many great and 'famous Exploits, lately returning from 'Numantia, thou haſt honour'd both Me 'and my Kingdom with Martial Repu-'tation; and by thy Proweſs haſt made 'the Romans, Friends before, moſt friend-'ly to Us. In *Spain* the Name and Lu-'ſtre of our Family is again renew'd; and 'which is the hardeſt Task for Mortals 'to perform, thou haſt vanquiſh'd Envy 'with Renown. Now then, becauſe that 'Nature puts an end to my Life, by this 'Right Hand, by the Truth of the King-

'dom, I beſeech and conjure thee, That 'theſe Young Men, by Birth thy neareſt 'Kindred, and Brothers through my Fa-'vour, may be always the dear Objects 'of thy real Affection; and that thou 'wilt not forſake the Friendſhip of thy 'own Fleſh and Blood, for the Alliances 'of Strangers. Neither Armies nor Trea-'ſures are Guards ſufficient to defend a 'Kingdom, but Friends; which thou canſt 'neither compel by Force, nor purchaſe 'with Gold: They are only to be gain'd 'by Duty and Fidelity. But where ſhould 'Friendſhip then be moſt ſincere, if not 'between Brother and Brother? Or 'where ſhall he find a Friend among 'Strangers, that is an Enemy to his own 'Relations? I leave yet a Kingdom ſtrong 'and durable, while vertuous and unani-'mous; but weak, and of ſhort conti-'nuance, if wicked and perverſe. For 'by Concord ſmall Beginnings thrive; 'through Diſcord the moſt Sinewey Eſta-'bliſhments ſhrink to nothing. Till then 'theſe Striplings are grown up, Thee, *Ju-'gurth*, it behoves, their Senior both in 'Years and Prudence, to take care, that 'nothing may diſturb this happy Union. 'For in all Contentions, the more power-

'ful

'ful though he recieve the Injury, yet 'becauſe his Force is greater, ſeems to do 'it. And as for your parts, *Adherbal* 'and *Hiempſal*, reſpect and reverence ſo 'great a Man as this; imitate his Cou-'rage; and let it not be ſaid, That I a-'dopted better Children then I firſt be-'gat.

11. To all this, *Jugurth*, altho' he knew, That what the King had utter'd, was all but craftily diſſembled, and that he had other Deſigns in his Head, nevertheleſs obſerving the Seaſon, he anſwer'd as if nothing but Submiſſion and Duty had inſpir'd him. Within a few days after *Micipſa* dies. Whom, when they had magnificently Interr'd with all the Royal Pomp befitting his Dignity, the three leſſer Princes met together, to conſult among themſelves concerning their Affairs. At that time, *Hiempſal*, naturally fierce, and contemning *Jugurth*'s mean Deſcent by the Mothers ſide, plac'd himſelf upon *Adherbal*'s Right Hand, to prevent *Jugurth*'s ſitting in the middle, which is accounted the chiefeſt Place of Honour among the *Numidians*. Nor would he give way to Age, till tir'd with his Brother's

Importunity, he was forc'd to change his Seat. There, after they had diſcours'd many things concerning the Government of the Kingdom, *Jugurth*, among other paſſages, throws in a word by the By, That it was but reaſonable that all the Decrees and Acts for the five Years laſt paſt, ſhould be made void; in regard that during all that time, *Micipſa* being waſted with Age, had not had the right Uſe of his Underſtanding. To which *Hiempſal* made Anſwer, That the Propoſal pleas'd him well; for that it was but three years ago, ſince he had obtain'd his ſhare of the Kingdom by Adoption. Which Expreſſion deſcended deeper into *Jugurth*'s Breaſt then they that heard it were aware of: Therefore from that time, turmoyl'd with Indignation and Fear, he toyls, provides, and in perpetual agitation of Thought, ſets all his Trains and Engines at work by Treachery to ruine *Hiempſal*: Which in regard they had but ſlow Succeſs, and yet his cruel Mind could no way be appeas'd, he reſolv'd to accompliſh his Deſign whatever it coſt him.

12. At the firſt Meeting of the three Princes already mention'd, in regard they could not agree, it was adjudg'd requiſite,

ſite, That the Treaſures ſhould be divided, and that the Limits of their Territories ſhould be ſetled. For the Execution of which Decrees, a Time was prefixt, but firſt of all for the diſtribution of the Money. Now it happen'd that *Hiempſal* had hir'd a Houſe in a Town call'd *Thirmida*, which belong'd to *Jugurth*'s chief *Gentleman-Uſher*, but a Perſon greatly careſs'd & belov'd by himſelf. This Officer, ſo opportunely in his Service, *Jugurth* loads with rich Preſents; and conſtrains him to go, under pretence of viewing his Houſe, and get falſe Keys made to all the Doors (for the true ones were in *Hiempſal*'s poſſeſſion) and to let him know when all things were ready; for that then he would come with a ſufficient Strength. The *Numidian* fulfill'd his Commands, and as he was inſtructed, in the Night-time let in *Jugurth*'s Souldiers; who were no ſooner ruſht into the Houſe, but ſeveral ran to ſeek out the young Prince; ſome kill'd thoſe that were aſleep; others ſlew all they met; all the private Corners were ranſack'd, Doors broke open, nothing but Noiſe and Tumult every where; at length *Hiempſal* is found in a Cottage belonging to a young Woman his Ser-

vant, whither at firſt in fear, and ignorant of the Countrey, he had fled for ſhelter. The *Numidians*, as they were commanded, carry'd his Head to *Jugurth*.

13. But the Report of ſuch a Bloody Fact was ſoon ſpred over all *Africa*, ſo that all that were under the Dominion of *Micipſa*, were in a dreadful conſternation. The *Numidians* divide themſelves into two Parties: More adher'd to *Adherbal*, but to the other the more ſtrenuous in War: Therefore *Jugurth* arms all the Forces he could raiſe, and adds to his Territories ſeveral Cities, ſome by Force, others by willing Surrender, and prepares to make himſelf Maſter of all *Numidia*. *Adherbal*, although he had ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, to inform the Senate of the Murther of his Brother, yet confiding in the Number of his Souldiers, reſolves upon a deciſion of the Quarrel by the Sword. But when the Buſineſs came to Battel, conſtrain'd to quit the Field, he fled into the *Roman Province*, and thence made haſte to *Rome*. Then *Jugurth*, having accompliſh'd his Deſigns, and now Lord of all *Numidia*, revolving more at leiſure, in his Mind, the Fact he had committed, began to dread the *Roman* People, nor had

had he any hopes of appeaſing their diſpleaſure, but in the Avarice of the Nobility, and his own Money. Therefore within a few days he ſent his Embaſſadors to *Rome*, loaden with Gold and Silver, with his Inſtructions, firſt to cram the Purſes of his old Friends, then to purchaſe new; and laſtly, by ſcattering their Bribes, to make ſure of all they could, for fear of hæſitation.

Upon this, when the Embaſſadors came to *Rome*, and had diſpers'd their Preſents according to their Maſter's Inſtructions, among the King's Friends, and others that bore the greateſt Sway in the Senate, there was ſuch a Change enſu'd, ſo that whereas no man before had more incurr'd their diſpleaſure then *Jugurth*, no man was more in their favour.

14. Thereupon, when the Embaſſadors thought their Game ſure, a Senate was appointed to hear both Sides; and then it was that *Adherbal*, as we have heard, thus deliver'd himſelf:

'*Conſcript Fathers*, *Micipſa* my Father, 'upon his Death-bed, gave me in charge, 'that I ſhould look upon the Kingdom of

'*Numidia*, ſo far as concern'd the Admini-
'ſtration only to be mine, but that the Right
'of Juriſdiction and Dominion was veſted
'in your ſelves: and that I ſhould make
'it my buſineſs both in Peace and War,
'to be as ſerviceable as poſſible I could be
'to the *Roman* People. That I ſhould va-
'lue and reſpect you as my Parents and
'neareſt Kindred and Relations: which if
'I did, I ſhould find in your Friendſhip,
'Armies, Riches and the ſafety of my King-
'dom. Theſe Inſtructions of my Father,
'while I was meditating carefully to put
'in Practice, *Jugurth*, a Man of all men up-
'on the Face of the Earth, moſt Impious,
'contemning your Authority, me *Maſſi-*
'*niſſa*'s Grandchild, and conſequently by
'Lineal Deſcent an *Allie* and friend of the
'*Roman* People, has expell'd his King-
'dom and depriv'd of all his Fortunes. I
'muſt confeſs, Conſcript Fathers, ſince Fate
'had deſtin'd me to theſe Calamities, I could
'have wiſh'd that rather for the ſake of my
'own, then the ſervices of my Anceſtors,
'I might have implor'd your Aid; and
'that the People of *Rome* might have ow'd
'me thoſe favours which I had no need of,
'that then, if occaſion requir'd, I might
'have reap'd the advantage of my Debts.

But

'But in regard Integrity is not ſecure of it 'ſelf, neither was it in my power to fore-'ſee what ſort of perſon *Jugurth* would 'prove, I fled to you for Succour, to 'whom, which is my worſt misfortune, I 'am conſtrain'd to be a burthen, before 'I could be uſeful. Other Princes either 'vanquiſh'd in War, have been admitted 'into your Protection, or in the tottering 'condition of their Affairs, have ſought your 'Alliance. Our Family engag'd in Amity 'with the *Roman* People, in the time of the '*Carthaginian* War, at ſuch a Conjun-'cture, when their Fidelity rather then 'their Fortune was to be deſir'd. Whoſe 'Off-ſpring, Conſcript Fathers, my own ſelf, 'the Grand-child of *Maſſiniſſa*, permit not 'to implore your Aid in vain. Had I no 'other reaſon for my Suit, but only my 'Misfortune, that deſerves Commiſeration; 'lately a Potent Prince, no leſs Illuſtri-'ous in Birth and Fame; now disfigur'd 'with Calamity, reduc'd to Poverty and 'begging Aid of others, yet it became 'the Majeſty of the *Roman* People to pro-'hibet Injury; and not to ſuffer any Man 'whatever to enlarge his Kingdom by Sa-'crilegious Acts. But I, alas, am here 'expell'd thoſe very Confines, which the

Roman

'*Roman* People beſtow'd upon my Anceſtors, from whence my Father and Grand-father aſſiſting your Victorious Arms, ejected *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*. Your Favours, *Conſcript Fathers*, are wreſted out of my hands; and you are contemn'd in the wrongs I ſuffer. Wretch that I am! Are thy kindneſſes come to this, Father *Micipſa*, that he whom thou mad'ſt equal with thy Children, and ſharer of thy Kingdom, that he ſhould be the firſt to extinguiſh thy Race and Lineage? Shall our Family never be at quiet? Always muſt Boodſhed, Exile and Slaughter be our Portion? While the *Carthaginians* flouriſh'd, there was ſome reaſon for our ſuffering; the Enemy cloſe by our ſides; you our Allies far diſtant: all our dependance was upon our Swords. But when that Peſt was exterminated out of *Africa*, we enjoy'd a gay Tranquility: for then we had no Enemy, unleſs whom you commanded ſo to be. But now upon a ſuddain, *Jugurth*, advancing himſelf, through unſufferable audaciouſneſs, and vaunting in Villany and Pride, having murder'd my Brother and his neareſt Kinſman, has firſt ſiez'd the Kingdom as the booty of

his

'his Impiety; then when he could not ruin
'Me by the ſame Treachery, yet expect-
'ing nothing leſs then Violence and War,
'within your own Empire, he has ſtript
'me as you ſee of Houſe and Home and
'Native Country, and ſent me hither an
'exil'd Beggar, overwhelm'd with miſery,
'and any where more ſecure then in my
'own Kingdom. I was of the ſame opi-
'nion, Conſcript Fathers, with my aged
'Parent, when I heard him oft repeat-
'ing, that they who inviolably embrac'd
'your Friendſhip, underwent indeed much
'hardſhip, but of all Men upon Earth
'were moſt ſecure. What was in our
'Families Power to do, they did; ſtill
'your Auxiliaries in your Wars: and
'it is in your Power that we may be as
'well ſecure in Peace as others under your
'Protection. My Father left two Brothers
'of us, and *Jugurth* the third he thought
'would have been rivetted to us by his
'continual kindneſſes. The one of theſe
'is Butcher'd, the others Impious Clutches
'my ſelf could hardly eſcape. What
'ſhall I do? Or whither, unhappy as I
'am, ſhall I repair? All my expectancies
'of ſupport from Conſanguinity are loſt.
'My Father, by neceſſity of Fate, has ſur-
render'd

'render'd himſelf to Nature: My Bre-
'ther, He whom it leaſt became, has impi-
'ouſly robb'd of Life. The reſt of my near
'Kindred, Relations and Friends, one ſort
'of ruin ſome, another others have de-
'ſtroy'd; taken by *Jugurth*, part nail'd
'upon the Croſs; and part expos'd to the
'Fury of Wild Beaſts; the ſmall remain-
'der clos'd up in Darkneſs with mourning
'and lamentation, lead a Life far worſe
'than Death. Were all things, which either
'I have loſt, or which inſtead of proving
'neceſſary have fallen out averſe and con-
'trary, had been ſtill unhazzarded and
'ſafe; yet if any thing had happen'd unfore-
'ſeen, I ſhould however have addreſs'd my
'Supplications, Conſcript Fathers, to your
'ſelves, to whom, conſidering the Gran-
'deur of your ſpacious Empire, belongs
'the care of all juſtice and Oppreſſion.
'But now an Exile from my Country,
'from my Houſe and Home, by all de-
'ſerted, and indigent of neceſſary ſub-
'ſiſtance, to whom ſhall I make Applica-
'tion or whoſe Aid invoke? Nations or
'Princes, who all, becauſe in League with
'you, deteſt our Family? Is there any
'Place left for my approach, where there
'are not more then many Hoſtile Monu-
'ments

'ments of my Anceſtors? Can any Per-
'ſon take Compaſſion upon Us, who
'at any time was once your Enemy?
'*Maſſiniſſa*, Conſcript Fathers, gave us
'thoſe Inſtructions, that we ſhould pay
'fidelity to none, but to the People of
'*Rome*: that we ſhould accept of no new
'Alliances or Leagues, there being ſuper-
'fluity of ſafety in your Friendſhip: and
'that if the Fortune of this Empire ſhould
'happen to change, that we ſhould fall
'together with it. By your Courage, and
'through the favour of the Gods, you are
'mighty and opulent; all things proſperous,
'all things obedient to your Commands:
'whereby you have the Power to take Cog-
'nizance of injur'd Allies. Only this I
'fear, leaſt ſome there may be, whom
'*Jugurth*'s private Correſpondence, cloſely
'carry'd, hurries topſy turvy; who as I
'am well inform'd, with all their Might
'endeavour, ſolicit, and weary with their
'Importunities particular Perſons, that
'nothing be decreed againſt the Perſon
'abſent, ere the Cauſe be heard: that I
'counterfeit words, and diſſemble Flight,
'when I might ſtay in my Kingdom if I
'pleas'd. But I wiſh to Heaven I might
'ſee the Traitor, whoſe Villany has

'plung'd

'pluing'd me into theſe Calamities, diſſem-
'bling here the ſame Things; and at
'length that either You or the Immor-
'tal Gods would be mindful of Human
'Affairs; to the end that He, who is now
'become Haughty and Illuſtrious by his
'perpetrated Crimes, tormented then with
'all imaginable tortures, might receive
'the diſmal reward of his Impiety toward
'the Parent of us both, in the murther of
'my Brother, and rendring me thus miſe-
'rable. And now Brother, to my Soul moſt
'dear, although thy life was robb'd untimely
'from Thee, and by him whom it behov'd
'moſt chaſtly to have preſerv'd it, yet I am
'apt to think, thy Fate affords us an oc-
'caſion rather of Joy then Lamentation.
'For together with thy Life, 'tis but a
'Kingdom thou haſt loſt; thou haſt eſcap'd
'the terrors of Flight, Exilement, Indi-
'gency, and all thoſe miſeries that weigh
'down my Soul: While unfortunate as I
'am, thrown head-long from my Native
'Kingdom into ſo many diſaſters, I am
'only a Spectacle of Human uncertainties;
'Uncertain what to do, whether to pro-
'ſecute thy wrongs, my ſelf a ſuppliant for
'Succour; or whether to take farther care
'of my Kingdom, whoſe Power of Life and
Death

'Death depends upon the Charity of Stran-
'gers. I wish to Heaven that Death might
'be the vertuous end of all my Grau-
'deur; least I should seem contented, were
'it but only to live, if tir'd with my Mis-
'fortunes, I should sink under the burthen
'of the Oppression. Now therefore, Con-
'script Fathers, impatient of Life, yet
'not permitted to die without disgrace,
'for your own, for the sake of your Chil-
'dren and your Parents, by the Majesty
'and Grandeur of the *Roman* People,
'vouchsafe your Succour to Me unfortu-
'nate; stop the Career of Injustice, and
'suffer not the Kingdom of *Numidia*,
'which is your own, to consume and pine
'away, while harrass'd by Impiety and the
'Effusion of our Blood.

15. When the King had made an end of speaking, *Jugurth*'s Embassadors, relying more upon the profuseness of their Presents, then the justice of their Cause, answer'd in few words,

'That *Hiempsal* was by the *Numidians*
'put to death for his Cruelty; that *Adherbal*,
'having begun a War without any pro-
'vocation, when he saw himself vanquish'd
'came,

'came to complain, becauſe he could not 'do the wrong he intended: and therefore '*Jugurth* beſought the Senate, that they 'would not think him any other Perſon, 'then what he was known to be at '*Numantia*; nor prefer the Stories of 'an Enemy, before his own apparent 'Deeds.

Which ſaid, they both withdrew. Immediately the Senate took the buſineſs into Conſideration. At what time the favourers of the Embaſſadors and ſeveral others corrupted by Dependency, made ſlight of *Adherbal*'s Complaint, highly applauded *Jugurth*'s Vertue; ſpar'd neither for Affection or Words, but labour'd with all their Might imaginable, for the Villany and Treachery of a Stranger, as if it had been for their own Honor. On the other ſide ſome few there were, to whom Juſtice and Equity were of more value then Riches, who were of opinion that *Adherbal* was to be ſupported, and that the Death of *Hiempſal* was to be ſeverely reveng'd. But among all the reſt chiefly *Emilius Scaurus*, Nobly deſcended, indefatigable, factious, ambitious of Power, Honour and Wealth, but one

one that cunningly knew how to conceal his Vices. For he, perceiving the notorious and ſcandalous Bribery of the King, fearing, as oft it happens in ſuch caſes, leaſt a Pollution ſo licentious ſhould bring an *Odium* upon him, checkt his inordinate Deſires, and kept his Avarice within bounds.

16. However in the Senate that Party carry'd it, which preferr'd Reward and Favour before Truth. A Decree was therefore made, That Ten Commiſſioners ſhould divide *Micipſa's* Kingdom between *Adherbal* and *Jugurth*; In which Commiſſion *L. Opimius* was the Chief: a Perſon of great Eminency and then Potent in the Senate; for that being Conſul, after *C. Gracchus* and *M. Fulvius* were ſlain, he had proſecuted more ſeverely the Victory of the Nobility, and gratify'd their Indignation with a great ſlaughter of the *Plebeians*. This Perſon, though at *Rome* he had not found him favourable to his Intereſts, *Jugurth* receiv'd with all the careſſes imaginable; at length profuſe in Gifts and Promiſes, he ſo brought it to paſs, that Reputation, Fidelity, Juſtice laid aſide, he preferr'd the Kings profit above all things. With

the ſame Baits the *Numidian* tempted the reſt of the Commiſſioners and the greateſt part ſwallow'd the Silver Hook; only ſome few valu'd their Credit above Gold. In the Partition, that Part of *Numidia* which Borders upon *Mauritania*, far the better Country both for the Richneſs of the Land, and Number of Inhabitants, was aſſign'd to *Jugurth*. The other more beautiful for Proſpect, then beneficial, as being full of Havens, and repleniſh'd with fair and ſumptuous Buildings, fell to *Adherbal*'s ſhare.

17. Here the Occaſion requires, That we ſhould give a brief Deſcription of the Situation of *Africa*, together with a ſlight Account of thoſe Nations, with which we were either at War, or joyn'd in Alliance: Though as to thoſe Places and Nations, which by reaſon of the Heat, the Rudeneſs of the Country, and Vaſtneſs of the Deſarts, are leſs frequented, I find but little Diſcovery made; the reſt I ſhall diſpatch in as few words as may be.

In the Diviſion of the Terreſtrial Globe, moſt Geographers have allow'd a Third Share to *Africa*, though ſome few there are

are who acknowledge no more then Two Parts, *Asia* and *Europe*; affirming that *Africa* belongs to *Europe*. It is bounded to the West by the *Streights*, between our Sea and the Ocean; to the East, by a steep Descent, which place the Inhabitants call * *Catabathmos*. The Sea adjoyning Tempestuous, and ill furnish'd with Havens; the Soyl fruitful in Corn, and abounding in Pasturage, but naked of Wood; the People healthy, patient of Labour, and generally long-liv'd, unless cut off by War, or destroy'd by wild Beasts, as being seldom injur'd by Diseases: only they are pester'd with several sorts of venomous Creatures. And now what Race of Mortals first inhabited *Africa*, who succeeded them, and how they came to be intermix'd one among another, although it vary from that Report, which generally prevails among most Men, nevertheless according to what was translated for our Use out of the *Punic* Books, which were said to be King *Hiempsal*'s, and as the People of that Country believe it to be, I shall concisely declare.

* Now *Porto d'Alber*, formerly a City, now a small Village upon the Coast of *Barca*, in the Dominion of the *Turks*.

18. The People that firſt ſeated themſelves in *Africa*, were the *Getulians* and *Libyans*, rude and barbarous, whoſe Food was the Fleſh of wild Beaſts, or the Graſs upon the Ground, like ſo many Herds of Cattel. They were neither govern'd by Cuſtoms, Laws, nor under any Command; roving and wandring, where Night conſtrain'd, there they took up their preſent Quarters. But after that *Hercules* dy'd in *Spain*, as the *Africans* believe, his Army, compos'd of ſeveral Nations, having loſt their Leader, while many ſought to lay the Foundations of particular Dominion, ſhatter'd into ſeveral Parties. Of that Number, the *Medes*, *Perſians* and *Armenians*, croſſing over into *Africa*, took poſſeſſion of thoſe places that lie upon our Sea: But the *Perſians* nearer to the main Ocean; who made uſe of the Keels of their Ships, the Bottoms turn'd upward, for Cottages; for that there was no Timber in the Country, nor had they any conveniency of buying or exchanging out of *Spain*, by reaſon that the wideneſs of the Sea and ignorance of the Language prevented Commerce. Theſe, by degrees, by intermarriages intermix'd the *Getulians* among themſelves: and becauſe

that

that in ſearch of convenient Habitations, they ſometimes try'd one Country, then another, they call'd themſelves *Numidians*. And as yet, the Buildings of the wild *Numidians* were oblong, and bow'd on both ſides, like the Keels of Ships. With the *Libyans*, the *Medes* and *Armenians* joyn'd; for theſe liv'd nearer the *African* Sea. The *Getulians* more under the Sun, not far from the ſcorching Heats; and theſe built themſelves Towns betimes. For being ſeparated only by a narrow Streight from *Spain*, they had ſettl'd a Trade one among another. Their Name alſo the *Libyans* by degrees chang'd, calling them inſtead of *Medes*, *Maurs*, according to the Pronunciation of their Barbarous Idiom. As for the *Perſians*, they grew potent in a ſhort time; and afterwards retaining the Name of *Numidians*, by reaſon of their Multitude, they left their Parents, and took poſſeſſion of thoſe Places which being next to *Carthage*, are call'd *Numidia*. Then both together, confiding in each others Strength, they compell'd their Neighbors, either by Force, or through Fear, to ſubmit to their Juriſdiction; thereby gaining both a Name and Reputation to themſelves;

but They the greater, that advanc'd as far as our Sea; for that the *Libyans* are not so warlike as the *Getulians*. Lastly, The lower part of *Africa* was for the most part possessed by the *Numidians*; while all the rest being vanquish'd and subdu'd, acknowledg'd only the Name and Government of the Victors.

19. Afterwards, the *Phœnicians*, partly being too numerous at home, partly through desire of Dominion, having prevail'd with the People, and others no less covetous of Novelty, to follow 'em, built (a) *Hippo*, (b) *Adrumetum*, (c) *Leptis*, and other Cities upon the Sea-Coast: Which being afterwards much enlarg'd, some serv'd for Srength, and some for Ornament. For as for *Carthage*, I think it proper rather to say nothing at all, then to be too concise, Time calling us another way. Therefore from *Catabathmos*, which Place divides *Egypt* from *Africa*, observing the Tide

(a) Now by the *French* call'd *Bone*; by *Arabs Beled el Ugueb*, in the Kingdom of *Algier*.

(b) Now *Mahometta*, in the Kingdom of *Tunis*.

(c) Now *Lebeda*, in the Kingdom of *Tripoli*.

Tide of the Sea, the first City is (a) *Cyrene*, a Colony of the Island of *Thera*, now *Gozi* in the *Ægæan* Sea; then the two (b) *Syrtes*; between which *Leptis*, and then the (c) *Altars of the Phileni*. Which was the Limits of the *Carthaginian* Empire next to *Carthage*. All the other Countries as far as *Mauritania*, the *Numidians* posſeſs; and next to *Spain*, are the *Moors*. Beyond *Numidia* the *Getulians* inhabit, ſome in Cottages, others more barbarouſly roving from place to place: Beyond them lie the *Ethiopians*. and then the Deſarts all parch'd up by the ſcalding heat of the Sun. Therefore in the *Jugurthine* War, the *Romans* by their Magiſtrates govern'd moſt of the *Punic* Towns, and the Territoties of the *Carthaginians*, which they had lateſt won. The greateſt Part of the *Getulians* and the *Numidians*,

(a) Now *Caicoan* in the Kingdom of *Barca*.

(b) The one now call'd *Le Secche di Barbarie*, and the other *Golfo di Capes*.

(c) Now *Porto di Sobia*, or *Nain*; ſo call'd from two *Carthaginian* Brothers, that ſuffer' themſelves to be there buried alive for the Good of their Country.

(*) Now *Molochath.*

as far as the River (*) *Mulucha*, were under the Dominion of *Jugurth.*

Over all the *Moors* King *Bocchus* reign'd, to whom the *Romans* were little known, unleſs it were by Name; neither was he known to Us, by any Occaſion either of War or Alliance.

20. After the Commiſſioners had divided the Kingdom, they return'd home. At what time, when *Jugurth* ſaw that he had obtain'd the full Reward of his Treachery, contrary to the Fears of his Heart, believing it certain, as he had learnt by his Friends at *Numantia*, that all things were vendible at *Rome*; as alſo encourag'd by the Promiſes of thoſe whom, but a little before he had glutted with his Preſents, he bends his Thoughts upon *Adherbal's* Kingdom. He himſelf ſtirring, and warlike; the Perſon he deſign'd upon, peaceful, and effeminate, of a mild Temper, and cut out for an Object of Injuſtice; rather fearful, then to be fear'd. Unexpectedly therefore *Jugurth* enters his Territories with a great Army, ſweeps the Country both of People and Cattel, burns the Houſes, and in an

an Hoſtile manner approaches moſt of the Cities with his Cavalry. Then with all his Booty he marches back into his own Kingdom, believing that *Adherbal* thus incens'd, would revenge the Injury done him; which would be a fair Pretence for a War. On the other ſide, *Adherbal*, becauſe he knew himſelf to be no way equal to his Adverſary; and for that he truſted rather to the Friendſhip of the *Romans*, then in his own *Numidians*, ſent his Embaſſadors to *Jugurth*, to complain of the Injuries he had done him; who, though they return'd with only contumelious Uſage, yet he determin'd to ſuffer all Indignities, rather then begin a War, wherein he had had ſuch ill Succeſs before. However, *Jugurth*'s Ambition abated never the more for that, as one that had already devour'd his Brother's Kingdom in his Heart. And therefore not now, as before, by way of Inroad, but with a great Army he began the War, and openly to lay claim to the whole Empire of *Numidia*: wherever he came, he laid waſte City and Country, drave all before him, encourag'd his own, and ſtruck terror into his Enemy.

Adherbal,

21. *Adherbal*, when he found it was come to that height, that he muſt either abandon his Kingdom, or maintain his Right by Force of Arms, conſtrain'd by Neceſſity, raiſes an Army, and marches to meet *Jugurth*. Thus both Armies met by the Sea-ſide, not far from the City of (*) *Cirta*; but in regard it was then toward the Evening, they did not fight that day; but when the Night was far ſpent, and that Day-light began to glimmer, *Jugurth*'s Souldiers, the Signal given, fall pell-mell into the Enemies Camp, where they kill, rout, and put to flight the ſcarce awake *Numidians*, ere they could put themſelves into a poſture of Defence: *Adherbal*, with ſome few Horſemen gains the City of *Cirta*; and had it not been for the great number of *Italians* that kept off the purſuing Enemy from the Walls, in one day between two Kings a War had been begun and ended. *Jugurth* therefore ſurrounds the Town, and prepares with his (*) Vines, Towers and Engins.

(*) Now *Conſtantina.*

(*) Vines were Hurdles, eight Foot high, ſeven broad, and ſixteen in length, cover'd over with raw Hides under which the Souldiers made their Approachs to the Walls of a City

gins of all ſorts, to ſtorm the Walls. Making the more haſte to anticipate the Embaſſadors, which, as he heard, *Adherbal* had ſent to *Rome* before the Fight. However, ſo ſoon as the Senate had intelligence of the War, three young Men were ſent into *Africa*, with Inſtructions to attend both the Kings, and to let 'em know that it was the Pleaſure and Decree of the Senate and People of *Rome*, that both ſhould lay down their Arms; and for any Controverſies that were between 'em, That they ſhould ſuffer the Law, not War to determin 'em.

12. The Commiſſioners arrive in *Africa*, which they made the more haſte to do, in regard that while they were preparing for their Journey, News was brought to *Rome* of the Battel fought, and the Siege of *Cirta*; though the Truth were very much minc'd, and favourably reported. To whom, when *Jugurth* had heard their Meſſage, he made Anſwer, That there was nothing more awful nor more ſacred to him, then the Authority of the Senate: That from his Youth he had ſo endeavour'd to regulate his Behaviour, that he might gain the Applauſe of

of all good Men: That his Courage, not his evil Deeds had render'd him grateful to *Scipio*, the greateſt Perſon in the World: That for the ſame reaſon, and not for want of Children, he was adopted into the Kingdom by *Micipſa*: but that the more he had well and ſtrenuouſly behav'd himſelf, the leſs could he frame his Mind to brook Affronts: That *Adherbal* had Treacherouſly laid Wait for his Life, which when he underſtood, he only oppos'd him with open Force: That the People of *Rome* would neither Act juſtly nor as became good Men, to forbid him the Right of all Nations: Laſtly, That he would in a ſhort time by his Embaſſadors give the Senate an Account of all his Proceedings.

22. *Jugurth* when he thought the Commiſſioners were departed out of *Africa*, and found that by reaſon of the natural ſtrength of the place, he could not take *Cirta* by Storm, ſurrounds it with Trenches and Breaſt-works rear'd up ſeveral Towers, which he ſtuft with Armed Men: left no thing unattempted Day and Night, either by Force or Stratagem; at the ſame time alluring

alluring and terrifying the Defendants with Rewards and Objects dreadful to the ſight; inflaming the Valour of the Aſſailants by continual encouragements; and ſeduloufly performing all things requiſite upon ſuch an occaſion. *Adherbal* therefore, finding all his Fortunes reduc'd to the laſt Extremity, the Enemy preſſing furiouſly on, no expectation of Relief, nor hope of ſpinning out the War for want of Neceſſaries, among the reſt that fled with him to *Cirta*, he made choice of two briſk Men of undaunted fidelity, and partly by large Promiſes, partly by raiſing up their pity of his low Condition, prevail'd with 'em to break through the Enemies Guards in the Night time, to the next Shoar, and thence with all imaginable ſpeed to make for *Rome*. The *Numidians* in a few days accompliſh his deſires, and *Adherbal*'s Letters were read in the Senate to this effect.

'Not any fault of Mine, but *Jugurth*'s 'violence, Conſcript Fathers, conſtrains 'me ſo often to implore your Aid: whoſe 'Ardent Thirſt to drink my Blood is ſo 'extream, that he regards neither your 'ſelves nor the Immortal Gods: nothing

will

'will gratify his impatience but my de-
'ſtruction. Therefore now five Months
'together have I, the Friend and Allie of
'the *Roman* People been cloſely Beſieg'd;
'nor will my Father *Micipſa*'s Kindneſ-
'ſes, nor your Decrees afford me any
'Succour. My misfortune diſſwades me
'to write any more of *Jugurth*; before
'this time alſo, having had experience, how
'little Fidelity is reſerv'd for the Miſera-
'ble. However I am ſatisfy'd, that his
'deſires are far beyond what I at preſent
'am; nor does he hope Your friend-
'ſhip and my Kingdom both toge-
'ther: and which he deems of moſt
'importance, there's no Man but may
'eaſily diſcern. For Firſt he murder'd
'*Hiempſal* my Brother, then chac'd me
'from my Native Kingdom. What
'were our private Injuries, was no con-
'cern indeed of Yours: but now with
'Armed Force he uſurps your Kingdom;
'and Me, whom you appointed Gover-
'nour of *Numidia*, he cloſely keeps penn'd
'up in Miſery. How much he regarded
'the Commiſſioners Meſſage, my dan-
'gers fully evince. What remains, but
'only your own Power to remove him.
'I muſt confeſs, I could heartily wiſh,

that

'that what I have written and all my 'former Complaints in the Senate, had 'rather, then, been feign'd and idle Stories, 'then that now my misfortune, should 'verify my words. But seeing I was only 'born to be the Sport of *Jugurth*'s wick-'ed Insolence, I deprecate neither Cala-'mity nor Death, but only the Tyranny 'of my Enemy, and the Torture of my 'Body. Provide as you please your selves 'for the good of the Kingdom of *Numi-'dia*, which is your own; But by the Ma-'jesty of the Empire, by the Fidelity of 'you Friendship, wrest me out of Impi-'ous hands, if yet there be remaining a-'mong ye, any remembrance of my 'Grandfather *Massinissa*.

24. This being read, some were of opinion that an Army should be forthwith sent into *Africa*, and that *Adherbal* should be speedily reliev'd; and that in the mean time, they should consider what was to be done with *Jugurth*, for disobeying the Commissioners. But *Jugurth*'s Party labour'd might and main, against the passing such a Decree. Thus the Public good, as it happens in most Affairs, was overcome by Private Favour. Nevertheless

vertheleſs they ſent into *Africa* ſome of the Senior Nobility, who had been advanc'd to the higheſt Honours. Among the reſt was the above mentioned *Scaurus*, a Conſular Perſon, and then Preſident of the Senate. They, becauſe the the Senate were in a heat, and beſides being earneſtly importun'd by the *Numidians*, took Shipping in three days and ſoon after Landed at * *Utica*, whence they ſent Letters to *Jugurth*, that he ſhould repair forthwith to the *Province*; for that they were ſent to him by the Senate. He, when he heard that Men of that Note, whoſe Authority was great in the Senate, were arriv'd contrary to his Expectation, at firſt diſtracted between Fear and Ambition, was variouſly turmoyl'd. He dreaded the Anger of the Senate, ſhould he diſobey the Embaſſadors; on the other ſide his Mind blinded by Ambition, hurry'd him to compleat the Outrage he had begun. However the worſt Reſult obtain'd the Victory in his covetous Inclinations. To that purpoſe, ſurrounding the whole City with his Army, he endeavours by main force to break in-

* Now *Biſerta* in the Kingdom of *Tunis*.

to

to the City; chiefly hoping that while the Beſieged were divided to defend many Poſts at once, ſome lucky Chance would give him either by force or Stratagem a Victorious opportunity. Which not ſucceeding to his mind, and finding he could not effect what he intended, which was to get *Adherbal* into his Clutches, before he met the Embaſſadors, leaſt by longer delay he ſhould incenſe *Scaurus*, with a ſmall Retinue He haſten'd into the Province. But notwithſtanding he was ſharply reprov'd, ſeverely rebuk'd, and ſmartly threaten'd in the Name of the Senate, unleſs he rais'd his Siege; nevertheleſs, after much Altercation to no purpoſe, the Embaſſadors departed without effecting any thing.

26. The News of which arriving at *Cirta*, the *Italians*, whoſe Courage had defended the Walls, not doubting but that after a Surrender, in conſideration of the *Roman* Grandeur, they ſhould be ſecure and ſafe, perſwaded *Adherbal* to ſurrender himſelf and the Town to *Jugurth*, upon Quarter for his Life: and that for other things the Senate would take care. Upon which, though he knew nothing more falſe then *Jugurth*'s word, nevertheleſs becauſe he knew

himſelf in the hands of thoſe, who if he refus'd had power to conſtrain him, he ſubmitted to the pleaſure of the *Italians*, and yielded up the Town. Preſently *Jugurth*, in the firſt place tortures *Adherbal* to death; then he ſlew all the *Numidian* Youth and Merchants promiſcuouſly, as they fell in the Souldiers way.

27. Which after it was known at *Rome*, and that the matter came to be debated in the Senate, the Kings Stipendiaries interpoſing, partly by favour, partly by unneceſſary wrangling, qualify'd the hainouſneſs of the Fact. So that unleſs *C. Memmius*, Tribune of the People Elect, a Perſon vehement, and a great ſtickler againſt the Power of the Nobility, had not inform'd the *Roman* People, what contrivances were a brewing, that *Jugurth*'s Villany might be pardon'd, all the Heat and Paſſion of the Senate had vaniſh'd into nothing, through delay of Conſultation. But the Senate, Conſcious of their miſcarriage, were afraid of the People, and therefore according to the *Sempronian* Law, Provinces are decreed the ſucceeding Conſuls: the Conſuls Elect were *P. Scipio Naſica*, and *L. Beſtia Calpurnius*. *Numidia* fell to *Calpurnius*, and *Italy* to

to *Scipio*. Thereupon an Army is rais'd to be Tranſported into *Africa*; Money, Proviſion and Ammunition decreed for the ſupport of the War.

28. Of which when *Jugurth* had intelligence, contrary to his Expectation, as one who was fully perſwaded that all things were to be bought at *Rome*, he ſends Embaſſadors to the Senate, his own Son, and two of his familiar Friends, with the ſame Inſtructions as he gave to thoſe which he ſent after the Murder of *Hiempſal*, that they ſhould not ſpare to tempt all Perſons whatſoever with their Money. Upon their approach near *Rome*, *Beſtia* mov'd the Senate whether it were their Pleaſure that *Jugurth's* Embaſſadors ſhould be admitted within the Walls of the City: who thereupon made a Decree, that unleſs they came to ſurrender the Kingdom and the King's Perſon, they ſhould depart *Italy* within ten days: which Decree the Conſul order'd to be carry'd to the *Numidians*; ſo that they were forc'd to return without performing any thing. In the mean time, *Calpurnius* having got his Army in readineſs, chooſes for his Legates, Perſons noble and factious, whoſe Authority might guard him, ſhould he hap-

pen to commit any miſcarriage; in which number was *Scaurus*, whoſe Qualities and Conditions we have already deſcrib'd. For indeed the Conſul was endu'd with many excellent Qualities both of Body and Mind, though peſter'd all, and incumbr'd with Avarice. Patient of Labour, a ſharp and penetrating Wit, ſufficiently provident, a good Souldier, reſolute in danger, and moſt wary of Stratagem. The Legions were Shipp'd from * *Rhegium* for *Sicily*, and thence for *Africa*. And then it was that *Calpurnius* having made Proviſion of Victuals, ſmartly enter'd *Numidia*, takes a great number of Priſoners, and ſeveral Cities by main force.

* Now *Reggio.*

29. But when *Jugurth* by his Embaſſadors began to dazle him with Money, and then to lay before him the difficulty of the War which he had undertaken, his Mind, ſick with Avarice, eaſily ſuffer'd an Alteration. However he did nothing without *Scaurus*, whom he made his boſom Companion and ſharer of his Counſels. Who though at firſt he fiercely oppos'd the Kings Intereſt, when moſt of his Faction were corrupted; yet at length the vaſtneſs of the ſum was ſuch, that

that it drew him from Honour and Juſtice to vile Depravity. All this while *Jugurth* had only purchas'd a Ceſſation of War, believing in the mean time that he ſhould make a better progreſs either by Price or Favour. But when he underſtood that *Scaurus* was come in for a ſhare, encourag'd then with all the hopes imaginable of recovering Peace, he determin'd to treat in Perſon upon the particular Conditions. To that purpoſe as it were for a ſecurity, *Sextius* the *Queſtor* is ſent by the Conſul to *Vacca*, a Town belonging to *Jugurth*, upon pretence of receiving an Impoſition of Corn, which the Conſul had openly commanded the Commiſſioners to get ready provided; the Truce being continu'd under a daily expectation of ſurrender. The King therefore, as he had reſolv'd, arrives in the Camp, where after he had made a ſhort Speech in the Council of War, in excuſe of the Crime that was laid to his charge, and formally petitioned that he might be admitted to ſurrender, the reſt he tranſacted in private with *Beſtia* and *Scaurus*. And then the next day, the opinions of the Council being demanded in a huddle and over-rul'd by the Conſul, his Surrender was admitted.

However according to the Impoſition of the Council, Thirty Elephants, Cattle, a great number of Horſes, and no inconſiderable ſum of Money were deliver'd to the * Queſtor. After which *Calpurnius* departs for *Rome* to be preſent at the Election of new Magiſtrates, while all was quiet both in *Numidia* and our Army.

* Or Treaſurer at War.

30. But after Fame had ſpread abroad the Proceedings in *Africa*, and how things had been manag'd, at *Rome* there was nothing diſcours'd of in all Places and Meetings, but the ſtrange management of the Conſul; among the Commonalty terrible diſguſt; The Fathers troubl'd, and at a kind of Loſs; nor did they know well what to do, whether they ſhould approve ſo ſcandalous a Miſdemeanor or diſanul the Conſuls Decrees. But ſuch was the Power of *Scaurus*, who was reported to be both *Beſtia*'s Confederate and Adviſer of the Act, that it ſtopp'd 'em very much in the courſe of Honeſty and Juſtice. Yet *C. Memmius* whoſe freedom of Speech, and inveteracy againſt the Nobility we have already mention'd, while the

the Senate ſat wavering and heſitating, encourag'd the People by Popular Harangues to Revenge; exhorts 'em not to deſert the Commonwealth nor their own Liberty; laid open many haughty and cruel Acts of the Nobility, and ſedulouſly kindl'd up the Indignation of the People by all manner of ways. Which gives me an opportunity ſince the Eloquence of *Memmius* was at that time in ſuch high eſteem, and ſo powerfully perſwaſive upon all occaſions, to recite one among ſo many of his Orations; more eſpecially what he diſcours'd in a particular Aſſembly, preſently after the return of *Beſtia* in theſe words;

31. 'Many things diſſwade me, Gentlemen, why our Affection to the Commonwealth ſhould not be ſo highly preferr'd above all other things. The Power of Faction; your patient Sufferance; no Juſtice; but more eſpecially, for that there is more Danger then Honour attends upon Innocency. For it grieves me to utter what I am about to ſpeak, That for theſe fifteen years, during which time you have been the Laughter and Contempt of the prevailing Power of a few, how ſhamefully, how unreveng'd

'your Champions have periſh'd, as if 'your Courage were infected with Sloth 'and Oſcitancy; who neither at this time 'rowſe up in oppoſition of your criminal 'Enemies; and are alſo now afraid of 'thoſe, to whom ye ought to be a Ter-'ror. But yet in this unhappy Conditi-'on of Affairs, my Zeal conſtrains me to 'oppoſe the Predominancy of Faction. I 'ſhall certainly make tryal of that Liberty, 'which my Parents left me as part of my 'Inheritance, but whether in vain, or to 'the purpoſe, that's only in your Pow-'er. Neither do I perſwade ye, as 'frequently your Anceſtors have done, 'to arm your ſelves againſt theſe Vio-'lences. There is no need of Force or 'Tumult; for you'll find they will 'run headlong after their uſual man-'ner. *Tiberius Gracchus* being ſlain, 'whom they accus'd of deſigning Regal 'Sovereignty, grievous were the Bloody 'Executions of the *Roman* People. Af-'ter the Murder of *C. Gracchus* and *M. 'Fulvius*, many of your Quality and 'Degree were ſlaughter'd in Priſon. Nei-'ther did the Law, but their Ambition 'put a ſtop to both thoſe cruel Havocks. 'Yet certainly the Reparation of the

Govern-

'Government ſhould rather have conſiſt-
'ed in reſtoring the Commonalty their
'Privileges. Whatever cannot be ſuffici-
'ently puniſh'd, without ſhedding the Blood
'of Fellow-Citizens, let it be done by
'Law. Of late years you tacitly mur-
'mur'd to ſee the public Chequer robb'd;
'to ſee Kings and Free People pay their
'Tribute to a few of the Nobility; Su-
'preme Dignity at their Command, and
'Riches moſt exorbitant in their poſſeſſi-
'on; yet took little notice of their exerci-
'ſing theſe unequal Uſurpations with im-
'punity. And thus at length the Laws,
'your Dignity, all things Divine and
'Human were deliver'd up into the hands
'of Enemies; yet neither are they that
'acted thoſe Enormities aſham'd or peni-
'tent; but trample over your Faces mag-
'nificently, boaſting their chief Pontificates,
'their Conſulſhips, and many their Tri-
'umphs; as if they lookt upon thoſe
'things as Honours, and not Rapines ra-
'ther. Servants bought with Money,
'brook not the unjuſt Commands of their
'Lords and Maſters: And will you, Gen-
'tlemen, born to Empire, patiently en-
'dure Servitude? But who are They,
'who have thus got Poſſeſſion of the Com-

'mon-

'monwealth? The moſt abominable
'among Men; their Hands beſmear'd
'with Blood; inſatiably covetous, moſt
'injurious, and the Same moſt lofty. By
'whom Fidelity, Honour, Piety; laſtly,
'All things honeſt and diſhoneſt are put
'to Sale. Some of 'em have plac'd their
'chiefeſt Safety in murdering the Tri-
'bunes of the People, others in inflict-
'ing unjuſt Puniſhments; but the greateſt
'part in committing bloody Violence up-
'on your ſelves. Thus, by how much
'every one acted moſt facinorouſly, ſo
'much the more ſecure he thought him-
'ſelf. They transferr'd their Dread from
'their own Crimes upon your Remiſs-
'neſs. And all theſe the ſame Deſires,
'the ſame Hatred, and the ſame Fears
'combin'd together. But this ſame Friend-
'ſhip among good Men, is Faction among
'the wicked. But had you the ſame care
'of your Liberty, as they are vehemently
'inflam'd with Love of Dominion, upon
'my word, neither the Commonwealth
'would be laid waſte, as now it is, and
'the moſt worthy, not the moſt audaci-
'ous would reap the benefit of your Fa-
'vours. Your Anceſtors, to obtain their
'Right, and to eſtabliſh their Dignity,
'twice

'twice in a divided Body from the Nobi-
'lity, fortify'd themſelves upon the *Aven-*
'*tine* Mountain: and will not you with
'all your might endeavour the Recovery
'of that Liberty which you receiv'd from
'them? and ſo much the more eagerly,
'by how much the greater Ignominy it is
'to loſe what once you have atchiev'd,
'then never to have won it? It may be
'ask'd me, What is my Opinion then?
'That they be ſeverely puniſh'd who
'have betray'd the Commonwealth to
'the Enemy; not by ſtrength of Arms,
'nor force, which had been more unwor-
'thy for you to have done, then diſho-
'nourable for them to ſuffer, but by the Ex-
'aminations & Confeſſion of *Jugurth* him-
'ſelf: for if he have ſurrender'd himſelf,
'certainly he will be obedient to your
'Commands: but if he contemn your Or-
'ders, then you your ſelves may judge,
'what that ſame Peace or Surrender is,
'from whence *Jugurth* obtains the Im-
'punity of his Crimes; whence ſome few
'Powerful Noblemen heap ſuch Trea-
'ſures to themſelves, ; whence ſo much
'Loſs and Shame befals the Common-
'wealth. But perhaps you have not had
'enough of their Lordly Domineering;

'and

'and thoſe then theſe Times pleaſe your 'humor better, when Kingdoms, Pro- 'vinces, Laws, Privileges, Judgments, 'War and Peace, all things Divine and 'Human were in the power of a few; 'but You, that is to ſay, the People of 'Rome, to your Enemies invincible, and 'Lords of ſundry Nations, thought it a 'ſufficient happineſs to breath. For who 'among ye durſt refuſe to be a Slave? 'But for my part, though I do think it 'the moſt hainous thing in the world for 'a man to have an Outrage done him, 'and yet the Maleſactor go unpuniſh'd; 'yet could I willingly endure, that you 'ſhould pardon the moſt abhorr'd of Men, 'provided they were Citizens, did I not 'think your Clemency might prove per- 'nicious. For They, whatever vexati- 'on and interruptions they may meet 'with, will never lay to heart their doing 'miſchief, unleſs they be depriv'd of the 'power of acting, but your Fears will be 'eternal, when you find that either you 'muſt be Slaves, or vindicate your Liber- 'ty by force of Arms. For what hope is 'there either of Fidelity or Concord? 'They reſolve to domineer, and you 'deſire your Freedom; they to do

'In-

'Injuſtice, you to prohibit 'em: Laſtly, 'They uſe your Allies as Enemies, and 'your Adverſaries as Friends. Can there 'be Peace and Friendſhip in Minds ſo di-'ametrically oppoſite? Wherefore I de-'ſire and exhort ye not to ſuffer an out-'ragious piece of Violence to go unpu-'niſh'd. The public Treaſury is not 'robb'd; nor Money violently extorted 'from your Friends, which though of-'fences of a high Nature, yet now adays 'are lookt upon as meerly Trifles. No— 'the Authority of the Senate is betray'd 'to a moſt bitter Enemy; the Common-'wealth is ſet to ſale both at home and 'abroad, which unleſs they be narrowly 'examin'd, unleſs the Guilty be brought 'to condign Puniſhment, what remains, 'but that we muſt live in Servitude to 'thoſe that have committed theſe notori-'ous Crimes? For to act without fear of 'puniſhment, that's to be a King. Not 'that it is my meaning you ſhould be 'glad to ſee your Fellow-Citizens were all 'involv'd in equal Crimes; but that you 'ſhould diſtinguiſh, and be careful how 'ye pardon the wicked, leſt thereby you 'occaſion the deſtruction of the Good. 'Beſides that it is much more beneficial

'to

'to the Commonwealth, to forget a kind-
'neſs then an injury: For good men only
'grow more careleſs if neglected; but
'bad men more audacious. To which
'we may add, That if Offenders were
'but duly puniſh'd, you would not ſtand
'ſo frequently in need of Tribunitial
'Aid.

32. By theſe, and ſuch like Reaſons often urg'd, *Memmius* perſwades the *People of Rome*, That *Caſſius* who was then *Pretor*, might be ſent to *Jugurth*; and that he ſhould bring him to *Rome* upon the Public Faith, to the end that by the Confeſſion of the King, the Miſdemeanors of *Scaurus*, and the reſt, who abſconded upon the ſcore of taking Bribes, might be made manifeſt.

While theſe things were thus tranſacted at *Rome*, they who were left by *Beſtia*, to command the Army in *Numidia*, following the Example of their General, committed many and moſt facinorous Enormities. Some there were, who corrupted with Gold, deliver'd back the Elephants to *Jugurth*; others ſold the Fugitives; others robb'd and ſpoyl'd the Provinces that were at Peace: Such a violent

rage

rage of Avarice had canker'd their very Minds, like a general Contagion. But *Caſſius* the *Pretor*, the Choice being reported by *C. Memmius*, to the Terror of the Nobility, goes to *Jugurth*, and perſwades him, fearful, and guiltily miſtruſtful as he was, in regard he had ſurrender'd himſelf to the *Roman* People, to make trial rather of their Clemency, then their Force; and privately gave him his own Word, which he thought to be equal to the Public Faith. Such was the high Reputation of *Craſſus* at that time.

33. Upon that, *Jugurth* contrary to the Grandeur and Majeſty of a Prince, comes to *Rome* in pitiful and ſordid Habit: And though he were endu'd with a vaſt Courage and Confidence above meaſure, being confirm'd by all whoſe Power or Impiety had encourag'd him to act what he had done, however he made ſure of *M. Bebius Tribune* of the People, to the end that by his Impudence he might be ſafe from all dangers of Popular violence. But *Memmius*, ſummoning an Aſſembly of the People together, though the Commonalty were hainouſly incens'd againſt the King, and ſome commanded him to be

be laid in Irons; and others, unleſs he reveal'd his Confederates, threaten'd him with Capital Puniſhment, according to the Cuſtom of their Anceſtors; yet conſulting more their Honour, then to gratify their Fury, he made it his buſineſs to qualify their Heats, to appeaſe their Indignation; and laſtly to convince 'em that the Public Faith was to be obſerv'd. Then ſilence following and *Jugurth* being produc'd, *Memmius* made a Speech, wherein he rips up all his Miſdemeanors both at *Rome*, and in *Numidia*, lays open his Crimes committed againſt his Father and his Brothers; telling him withal, That altho the People of *Rome*, were well inform'd already who were his Agents and Aſſiſtants, yet they were deſirous of farther proof, and diſcovery from himſelf; that if he confeſs'd the Truth, he had great Encouragement to rely upon the Clemency and Faith of the *Roman* People; but that if he would not be ingenuous, he would do his Confederates no kindneſs, but would certainly ruin himſelf and all his Hopes.

34. When

34. When *Memmius* had made an end, and that *Jugurth* was commanded to answer, *C. Bebius* the Tribune, whom *Jugurth* had largely Brib'd, as we told ye before, commands the King to hold his Tongue; and although the Multitude who were preſent at the Aſſembly, being highly incens'd, threaten'd the Tribune not only with their Looks and hideous Clamors, but with all thoſe other acts of Violence that Anger makes uſe of; yet nothing could deter his Impudence, ſo that the People brake up their Aſſembly contemn'd and ſcorn'd: on the other ſide, *Jugurth*, *Beſtia* and the reſt, whom that ſame Examination ſtrangely diſorder'd, reſum'd freſh hopes, much more enliven'd then they were before.

35. There was at that time at *Rome* a certain *Numidian*, by name *Maſſiva*, the Son of *Guluſſa*, and Grand-child to *Maſſiniſſa*, who becauſe he was an Enemy to *Jugurth*, when the three Kings were at variance, upon the Surrender of *Cirta*, and murder of *Adherbal*, fled out of *Africa*. This Man was perſwaded by *Sp. Albinus*, who was Conſul the next year after *Beſtia*, with *Quintus Minucius Rufus*, in regard he was Deſcended in a direct Line from *Maſſiniſſa*, to lay claim

in the Senate to the Kingdom of *Numidia*, while *Jugurth*'s fears and the abomination of his Crimes lay heavy upon him. The Conſul, thirſting after War, was clearly for creating any diſturbance rather then lie idle. More eſpecially becauſe *Numidia* was fall'n to his Lot, as *Macedonia* to that of *Minucius*. So that when *Maſſiva* began to beſtir himſelf, and *Jugurth* found he was not ſafe enough in the Protection of his Friends, for that in ſome their Guilt of Conſcience; in others their loſt Reputation and Apprehenſions of Mind had extinguiſh'd the heat of their Solicitations, he orders *Bomilcar*, his near Kinſman, and his intimate and truſty Agent, with a round ſum of Money, the main Inſtrument with which he had brought to paſs all his miſchievous Deſigns, to procure certain Ruffians to watch *Maſſiva*, and hurry him out of the City, with all the privacy they could; or if that Plot fail'd, to murder him out-right. *Bomilcar* ſwiftly puts in Execution the Kings commands, and by fellows that underſtood their Trade, obſerves his walks, his goings out, and commings in, his haunts, and ſeaſons of being abroad; and then, when every thing was fix'd, he lies perdue. At what time, one of thoſe

thoſe that were hir'd for the Murder, ſomewhat over haſtily ſetting upon *Maſſiva*, ſtruck off his Head: ſo that being apprehended, at the perſwaſions of many, and chiefly of *Albinus* the Conſul himſelf, he makes a Confeſſion; upon which *Bomilcar*, who accompany'd *Jugurth* to *Rome*, upon the Public Faith, is adjudg'd Guilty, rather by the Law of Nature then of Nations, by which he ſeem'd to be exempted from Puniſhment. But as for *Jugurth*, though no man were ſo well acquainted with the Fact as himſelf; yet would he never give over labouring againſt the certainty of Truth, until he found that the Abhorrency of the Fact had got the upper hand of Favour and his Gold. Therefore though upon the former Information, he had given in Fifty of his friends as Sureties for *Bomilcar*'s forth-coming, however being more mindful to ſecure his Kingdom, then careful to diſcharge his Bail with honour, he privately ſent away *Bomilcar* into *Numidia*, afraid leaſt Popular fears might ſhake the Loyalty of the reſt, if once they heard that he were put to death: and he himſelf within a few days after follow'd, being commanded by the Senate

to depart *Italy*. Of whom it is reported, that as he was upon the Road ſtill in view of the Walls, he frequently turn'd his head not ſaying a word, till at length, caſting a wiſtful look upon the City, he brake forth into this Exclamation; *Adieu fair City to be ſold, and ripe for ruin, could it find a Chapman.*

36. In the mean time *Albinus*, the War being thus renew'd, ſends away Proviſions, Money and other neceſſaries for the Souldiers, into *Africa*, and ſwiftly alſo follows in Perſon, that before the Election of new Magiſtrates which grew on apace, he might conclude the War, either by force of Arms, upon Compoſition, or by any other means. On the other ſide, *Jugurth* ſpun out the time, to the utmoſt of his power, pretending ſometimes one, ſometimes another Excuſe for his delay, promis'd Surrender, and then diſſembl'd his fears; ſometimes he retires, and by and by, for fear of diſcouraging his own Men, he makes a ſtand: thus lingring out the War, and ſometimes with propoſals of Peace he eluded and baffl'd the Conſul. And ſome there were who thought *Albinus* was not unacquainted with the Kings deſigns,

ſigns, for conſidering the Haſt he made at firſt, they could not believe but that the War was rather prolong'd through the Remiſneſs of the Conſul, then Policy of the Enemy. But the ſeaſon being ſpent in vain; and the day of Elections at hand, *Albinus*, leaving his Brother *Aulus* Propretor in the Camp, departed for *Rome*.

37. At that time was *Rome* moſt terribly harraſs'd by the Mutinies and Contentions of the Tribunes, *P. Lucullus*, and *L. Arnius*, Tribunes of the People, who notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of their *Collegues*, obſtinatly endeavour'd to continue in the Magiſtracy. Which contention Prorogu'd the Elections for a whole Year. Upon which delay, *Aulus*, who was left Propretor in the Camp (as we have already declar'd,) building fair hopes, either of putting an end to the War, or by the terror of his Army to extort ſome conſiderable ſum of Money from the King, in the Month of *January*, draws his Army out of their Winter Quarters into the Field; and with long Marches in a ſharp Seaſon, preſents himſelf before the Walls of *Suthul*, where the Kings Treaſure lay. Which although, in regard of the hard-

neſs of the weather, and the Situation of the place, it could neither be taken nor beſieg'd; for that a Boggy Plain, by reaſon of the Winter ſhowers, now become a ſpacious Mariſh, ſurrounded the Walls, that were built upon the Point of a Craggy Rock; yet either in a Bravado, to terrify the King; or blinded with eager hopes of gaining the Treaſures of the Town, ſet up his *Vines*, open'd his Trenches, and in a word, omitted nothing that might further his deſign.

38. On the other ſide *Jugurth*, perceiving the vanity of the Legate, & his want of Military experience, craftily to heighten his Madneſs, ſent Meſſengers to him, with offers of ſubmiſſion; while he himſelf as it were to avoid his fury, leads his Army through the Woods and Places of moſt difficult acceſs. Laſtly upon hopes of Agreement he had ſo charm'd *Aulus*, as to make him raiſe his Siege and follow him ſtill feigning flight, into Countries with which he was not in the leaſt acquainted; that ſo his overſights might be leſs ſubject to diſcloſure. In the mean time he employ'd moſt active and cunning Gameſters, Day and Night to ſound the Army; and to Bribe the *Centurions*, and Captains of Horſe, either

ther to revolt, or upon Signal given to deſert their Stations; which when he had accompliſh'd according to his deſire, of a ſuddain in a Tempeſtuous night, he ſurrounds *Aulus*'s Camp with a vaſt multitude of *Numidians*. The *Roman* Souldiers, amaz'd at ſuch an unuſual Alarum, ſome ſtood to their Arms; ſome ran to hide themſelves; others heartned up the Timerous; ſome ſtood quivering; while the Enemy thunder'd in upon 'em on all ſides. The Sky all over-caſt with Clouds and darkneſs; the danger doubtful; nor could the moſt daring well reſolve which was the ſafeſt courſe, whether to fight or fly. In this hurry, among thoſe whom the Kings Gold had poyſon'd, the *Ligurian* Cohort, with two Troops of *Thracians*, and ſome few Common Souldiers revolted to the King; and the * Primipile *Centurion* of the third Legion gave admittance to the Enemy at that Quarter, which he had undertaken to defend: and there all the *Numidians* pour'd in like a Torrent. Shameful was the flight of our

* He was the chief of all the *Centurions* of the Legion, and had the guard of the Eagle: as being the Captain of the Triarij, one of whoſe weapons was a dart, in Latine call'd *Pilum*.

men, of which the greateſt part poſſeſſed themſelves of the next Hill, leaving their Arms behind 'em. Night, and the eagerneſs after Plunder prevented the Enemy from making that advantage of their Victory they might have done. The next day *Jugurth* entring into a perſonal Parley with *Aulus*, told him, that tho' he had him ſafe with all his Army Surrounded with Famin and the Sword, yet conſidering the Inconſtancy of humane Affairs, he was content upon condition of a League and Peace by him Confirm'd, and that they ſhould depart *Numidia* within ten days to ſave their Lives, firſt paſſing under the * *Yoke*. Which Conditions tho' greivous and highly diſhonourable, yet becauſe the Souldiers totter'd under the Fears of Death, were accepted, and a peace concluded amply to the King's deſire.

*The Yoke was two Spears fixed in the Ground, and a third faſtened overthwart from one to the other, like a Gallows, under which the Soldiers were to go one after another, and was the greateſt Ignominy that a vanquiſh'd Enemy could undergo.

39. But when this Fatal News arriv'd at *Rome*, Fear and Mourning invaded all the City; part bewail'd the Honour of the

the Empire; others not accuſtom'd to the various Events of War, trembled for the miſtruſted loſs of their Liberty. But all were offended at *Aulus*, eſpecially they who had been often Famous in the Wars, for that he, having ſtifl his Arms in his hands, had ſought to ſave his Life, rather with diſhonour, then by Dint of Sword. Therefore *Albinus* fearing leaſt the Miſcarriage of his Brother might procure him Hatred, and Danger in the next Place, conſulted the Senate concerning the Validity of the League.

In the mean time new Recruites were liſted to reinforce the Army; and aid was ſent for from their Aſſociates and the *Latines*; and this with all the Expedition imaginable. Moreover the Senate, as it was but reaſonable, paſs a Decree, that no League could be valid but by their Command and the Conſent of the People. The *Conſul*, tho' forbid by the Tribunes to tranſport his new Levies, in a few days, arrives in *Africa*. For all the ſhatter'd Army having quitted *Numidia*, by agreement winter'd in the Province. When he came thither, tho he burn'd with an eager deſire, to proſecute *Jugurth*, and revenge his Brother's Diſgrace, yet underſtanding that the Souldiers, beſides

beſides the diſcouragement of their Flight, were debauch'd by diſſolute Licentiouſneſs, ariſing from ſuperfluous Plenty, and want of good Government, he determined to lie ſtill that Year.

40. In the mean while, at *Rome*, *C. Mamilius Limitanus*, Tribune of the People, publiſhes an Edict of the Commons, for calling to a ſtrict account all thoſe Perſons who had countenanc'd *Jugurth* to contemn the Decrees of the Senate; alſo ſuch as in their Embaſſies or Generalſhips had been corrupted by his Bribes; ſuch as had deliver'd back either Elephants or Fugitives; and laſtly all that had capitulated with the Enemy, either of War or Peace, without Warrant. Againſt this Edict, ſome conſcious to themſelves, others miſtruſting danger from the *Odium* they had drawn upon themſelves, becauſe they durſt not openly make oppoſition, they pretended to be well pleas'd, both with this, and all other Edicts of that Nature. But underhand by their Friends, eſpecially the *Latins* and *Italians*, they endeavour'd to give it all the obſtruction they could. On the other ſide, the Commons, it is incredible to think how earneſt and intent they were, with what noiſe and clamour they

they Commanded, decreed and urg'd the Execution of their Edict; more out of an Antipathy againſt the Nobility, againſt whom thoſe Miſchiefs were contriv'd, then out of any true Zeal for the publick good. So violent was the Rage of both Parties. Therefore while the reſt were ſtruck with fear and dread, *M. Scaurus*, who was *Beſtia*'s Confederate, as we have already related, between the Inſultings of the People, and the Frights of the Nobility, the whole City at the ſame time being under a ſtrange Conſternation, finding there were three Commiſſioners intended to be ordain'd for Execution of the Inquiſition, ſo ordered it that he got himſelf to be one of the Number. Beſides, the Inquiſition was urged with that violence and exaſperated malice accompany'd with clamour and rude Licentiouſneſs, that whatſoever ſeverities the Senate had exercis'd in former times upon the People, they were now in their proſperity, no leſs inſolent in their revenge.

41. This cuſtom of Bandying Parties among the People, of Senate-Factions, and all other wicked and corrupt Practices deriv'd its Original in *Rome*, from Idle-

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neſs and Superfluity of thoſe things which Mortals deem their chiefeſt Felicities. For before the deſtruction of *Carthage*, the People and Senate of *Rome* manag'd the Public Affairs with Unity and Moderation: no contentions for Honour and Superiority among Fellow-Citizens: Hoſtile Fears retain'd the City within the bounds of Juſt and Honeſt. But when thoſe Fears were once remov'd, immediately Wantonneſs and Pride, the bad Effects of Proſperity, took place. So that what they wiſh'd for in their mean Condition, after once they came to enjoy Tranquility and Eaſe, was a Burden and Diſturbance of their Quiet. For then the Nobility began to turn their Superiority into domineering Pride, the People their Liberty into Petulancy: Uſurpation, Rapine, tearing this way, rending that way, and every one for himſelf, was then the public Mode. So that the whole being rent into two Factions, that which lay in the middle was ſure to be torn in pieces. But the united Faction of the Nobility was moſt prevalent, the Strength of the Commons disjoynted, and ſcatter'd into Multitude, could do little: And thus the Commonwealth, as well in times of Peace,

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as War, was manag'd at the Pleaſure of a Few. The Public Chequer, the Provinces, all Offices, Honours and Triumphs were at their diſpoſal; the People were kept under by Poverty and Military Duties. The Generals with a few ſhar'd all the Spoils and Booty taken in War. All this while the Parents and Children of the Souldiers, as every one lay neareſt Neighbour to the Potent Nobleman, were thruſt out from their Habitations. Thus Avarice in League with Power, invaded, polluted, and made prize of all things, regarding neither Meaſure nor Moderation, trampling Morality, ſpurning Sanctity under their feet, till it threw it ſelf headlong into Ruine. For ſo ſoon as there were found among the Nobility ſome that preferr'd true Honour before uſurp'd Dominion, then the City began to be all in Combuſtion, and Civil War, like a Confuſion of Heaven and Earth, began to break forth.

42. Thus, after *Tib.* and *C. Gracchus*, whoſe Anceſtors, both in the *Punic* and in other Wars, had much advanc'd the Honour of the Commonwealth, began to vindicate the Liberty, and diſcloſe the wicked Miſcarri-

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ages of a few; the Nobility, guilty, and ſtruck with Terror of Puniſhment, ſometimes by the aſſiſtance of their Allies and the *Italians*, ſometimes of the *Roman* Knights, whom Hopes of being admitted into equal Society, had drawn off from the Commons, oppos'd the Proceedings of the *Gracchi*; and firſt they ſlew *Tiberius*; then in a few years after, *Caius*, together with *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, treading the ſame ſteps; the one a *Tribune* of the People; the other a *Triumvir* for the *Tranſportation of Colonies*. Tho', to ſpeak Truth, the *Gracchi* were too immoderate and vehement in the purſuit of Victory. Since it is the wiſer way to yield in a good Cauſe, then illegally to revenge an Injury. Therefore the Nobility, proſecuting that Victory, as they pleas'd themſelves, what by the Sword, and what by Exilement, deſtroy'd a great number of People: procuring for the future more of Terror, the Power to themſelves. A ſort of rigorous Policy that many times becomes the Ruine of great Cities, while the Citizens ſtrive to vanquiſh one another, they care not how, and proſecute their Revenge to the utmoſt extremity upon the Vanquiſh'd. But

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ſhould I go about to diſcourſe particularly of the Heats and Animoſities of the Factions, and all the Encroachments of bad Cuſtoms into the City, Time would ſooner fail me then Matter; And therefore I return to the Buſineſs in hand.

43. After the Peace agreed by *Aulus*, and the ignominious Flight of our Army, *Metellus* and *Silanus* being deſign'd Conſuls, ſhar'd the Provinces among themſelves; by which means *Numidia* fell to *Metellus*, a man altogether for Action, and though an Enemy to Popular Factions, yet of an untainted and unviolable Reputation, and ſo acknowledg'd by both Parties. At his firſt entrance into his Office, after he had ſetl'd all Affairs wherein his Colleague and he were equally concern'd, he wholly bent his Mind upon the War which he was to undertake. To that purpoſe, not daring to confide in the Old Army, he liſted New Souldiers, ſends for Auxiliaries from all parts, makes proviſion of Armor, Weapons, and all other Inſtruments of War; ſtores himſelf with all manner of Proviſions, and all things requiſite in a dubious Conteſt, often ſubject to the want of freſh Supplies.

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Toward all which great and vigorous Preparations, the Allies, the *Italians*, and Foreign Princes, nay the whole City it ſelf largely contributed, even to emulation, both Forces and Money. So that all things being now in a readineſs, to his own content, he puts to Sea for *Numidia*, filling the City full of fair Hopes, knowing him to be a Perſon of great Vertue, and more eſpecially bearing a Mind impregnable to the Aſſaults of Gold: Which they lookt upon then as a great Matter, conſidering, how before that time, through the Covetouſneſs of our Governors in *Numidia*, our Forces had been foyl'd and weaken'd, and the Strength of the Enemy augmented.

44. When he arriv'd in *Africa*, the Army was reſign'd to his Command by *Spuricus Albinus* the *Pro-Conſul*; debauch'd and out of heart, neither daring to look Danger in the Face, nor endure Labour; prompter of their Tongues then Hands; preying upon their Friends, but a Prey to the Enemy; under no Command or Diſcipline. So that the new General was more troubl'd to reform their corrupted Manners, then any way encou-

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rag'd to expect Aſſiſtance or Service from their licentious Numbers. *Metellus* therefore determines, though the proroguing the former Summer-Elections, had ſhorten'd his Time, and that he knew the Eyes of his Fellow-Citizens were all upon him, not to meddle with the War, till he had firſt enur'd his Souldiers to Labour and Hardſhip, according to the Diſcipline of their Anceſtors. For *Albinus* being terrify'd with his Brother's Diſaſter, and the Overthrow of the Army, after he had reſolv'd not to ſtir out of the Province, during ſo much of the Summer-Seaſon as he commanded the Army, kept his Souldiers in ſtanding Camps, and never diſlodg'd, but when Stench or Want of Forage compell'd him to remove. And then alſo, neither were the Watches obſerv'd, and Sentinels plac'd according to the Cuſtom of Military Diſcipline. But every one at random left his Colours, and wander'd where he pleas'd; the Sutlers and Camp-Boys intermix'd with the Souldiers, roam'd about the Country day and night, laying waſte the Fields, pillaging the Villages, driving off great Booties of Pris'ners and Cattel, which they exchang'd with the Merchants for Wine

and other Commodities. Moreover, their public Allowances of Corn they ſold, and bought their Bread every day as they us'd it. Laſtly, whatever Scandals of Sloth and Luxury could ever be utter'd or devis'd, were all to be really found in this our Army, and more if poſſible.

45. In the midſt of theſe Difficulties I find *Metellus* to be a Perſon no leſs prudent and politic, then expert in Affairs of War; ſuch was his Temperance and Moderation, between an eager deſire of Reformation and Severity. For by his firſt Edict, he prohibits all the Incentives and Pandariſms to Idleneſs; That no man within the Camp ſhould ſell any Bread or Fleſh ready dreſt; That no Sutlers or Camp-Boys ſhould follow the Army; and That no Common Souldier ſhould preſume to keep either in the Camp or upon a March, any Slave, or Beaſt of Carriage: what elſe remain'd, he limitted according to the Rules of Diſcretion. Moreover, he often diſlodg'd his Camp, marching ſometimes one way, ſometimes another, and (as if the Enemy had been at hand) ſtill fortify'd himſelf with Trenches and Breaſtworks. He frequently reliev'd the Watches,

and

and often went the Rounds himſelf with the *Legates*. And when he was upon a March, ſometimes he would be in the Front, ſometimes in the Rear, and often in the middle, to prevent the ſtragling of the Souldiers from their Colours: and when they march'd in a full Body, they were order'd to carry their Proviſion, as well as their Arms: and by prohibiting, rather then by puniſhing Miſcarriages, he reduc'd the Army to perfect Diſcipline.

46. In the mean while *Jugurth*, when he heard by his Spies, the Courſes which *Metellus* took, as alſo being aſcertain'd from *Rome* of his Integrity, he began to miſtruſt the Iſſue of his Affairs, and then at length began to think of making a real Compoſition. To which purpoſe he ſent his Agents to the *Conſul*, with Offers of Surrender, and full Commiſſion to deſire only his own and his Childrens Lives, but refer all other things to the good will and pleaſure of the *Roman* People. But *Metellus* was not ignorant by former experience, that the *Numidians* were a perfidious Nation, inconſtant in their Humor, and always inclin'd to Novelty. And therefore diſcourſing the Agents every one apart by

themſelves, and ſounding 'em by degrees, when he found 'em ſincerely pliable, he perſwades 'em with large Promiſes to deliver up *Jugurth* into his hands alive, if poſſible, or ſlain, if otherwiſe it could not be accompliſh'd; but what farther Meſſage they had to carry to the King, he openly informs 'em at a Public Audience. After this, he enters *Numidia* with a well reſolv'd and powerful Army; where contrary to the count'nance of War, the Houſes were full of People, and the Fields of Cattel and Husbandmen. Then out of the ſeveral Towns and Villages the King's Officers came forth to meet and congratulate the *Conſul*, profeſſing themſelves ready to furniſh him with Corn and Carriages for his Proviſion, and in a word, to do whatever he commanded. But notwithſtanding theſe fair ſhews, *Metellus* was never a jot the leſs circumſpect, marching in the ſame order and warineſs, as if the Enemy had been at hand, ſent his Scouts and Forlorns every way round about; believing all pretences of Surrender to be only Wiles and Stratagems to draw him into Miſchief. And therefore he march'd himſelf at the Head of his Army with ſome of the nimbleſt Cohorts, and

and a ſelect Band of Archers and Slingers. The Reer *C. Marius*, his Legate, brought up with his Horſe: and upon each Wing he had divided the Auxiliary Horſe at the Command of the *Tribunes* of the Legions, and Captains of the Cohorts; to the end that the light Armed Foot and the Horſe being thus intermixt, they might be able to withſtand the Enemies Cavalry, which way ſoever they make an Impreſſion. For *Jugurth* was ſo politic, ſo well acquainted with the Situation of the Country, and the Art of War, that whether he were more dangerous abſent or preſent, treating Peace, or actually in War, was hard to be reſolv'd.

47. There ſtood not far from the Road which *Metellus* took in his march, a Town belonging to the *Numidians*, which was call'd * *Vacca*, the moſt famous for Trade of any in the Kingdom; and greatly frequented by the *Italian* Merchants. Here the *Conſul*, as well for a Trial whether they would obey or no, as alſo conſidering the Advantages of the Situation,

* Whatever it were, there is now no footſteps of it remaining.

places a Garriſon. Moreover he commanded the Inhabitants to furniſh him with a Quantity of Corn and other Neceſſaries uſeful in War; believing, as it was moſt rational to think, That the great Concourſe of Merchants, and plenty of Proviſion would be a great Aſſiſtance to his Army: beſides that the Place lay convenient for a Magazine of neceſſary Preparations for the future. In the midſt of theſe Tranſactions *Jugurth* ſends again ſubmiſſive Meſſengers, and much more earneſtly then before ſues for Peace, with Offers to *Metellus*, to ſurrender all things to his Mercy but his own and the Lives of his Children; whom the *Conſul*, as he did the former, ſent back again with Temptations to betray their Maſter; but as to the Peace which the King deſir'd, he neither gave any poſitive Grant or Refuſal; delaying on purpoſe, in expectation of the Agents Promiſes.

48. But *Jugurth*, when he compar'd the Words and Deeds of *Metellus* together, and found himſelf match'd at his own Weapons of Delay and Diſſimulation, while Peace was diſſembl'd in Words, but actually a ſharp and vigorous War in the

the Bowels of his Kingdom; one of his chiefeſt Cities in the Enemies Hands, the Country diſcover'd, and the People ſtaggering in their Allegiance, conſtrain'd by the Neceſſity of his Affairs, he reſolves to fight it out. And therefore by his Spies having throughly diſcover'd and obſerv'd the March of the Enemy, conceiving great hopes of Victory from the Opportunity of the Place, he raiſes all the Force he could make of all ſorts of People, and ſo by private ways, and ſhorter Cuts, he gets before *Metellus*'s Army. There was in that part of *Numidia*, which upon the Diviſion of the Kingdom, fell to *Adherbal*'s ſhare, a River riſing Southward, which was call'd *Muthul*, from whence, at the diſtance of about a Thouſand and Twenty Paces, a great Mountain ſhew'd it ſelf, wild by Nature, and altogether untill'd and uninhabited: from the middle of which, there grew as it were another Hill to a very great height, cover'd over with wild Olives, Mirtles, and ſuch other ſorts of Trees as delight in barren and ſandy Grounds. All the ſurrounding Plain for want of Water, lay deſart; only thoſe parts that border'd upon the Stream, which were thick ſet with Buſhes

and Hedges, full of Cattel and Husbandmen. Upon this Hill, which ran croſs the High-way, as we have ſaid, it was, that *Jugurth* drew up the Vanguard of his Army thinly Marſhall'd, giving *Bomilcar* the Charge of his Elephants, and ſome part of his Forces, with full Inſtructions what to do. He himſelf with his Cavalry, and ſome ſelected Battalions of Foot, plants himſelf nearer the Mountain; then riding from Troop to Troop, and Rank to Rank, he exhorts, encourages, and conjures them not to forget their priſtine Valour and victorious Conqueſts, but bravely to defend themſelves and his Kingdom from the Avarice of the *Romans*: That they were to deal with only ſuch as they had forc'd to paſs the Yoke already: That their Captain only, not their Courage was chang'd: That his Care and Foreſight had prevail'd againſt all Accidents, as became an expert Leader: That he had taken the upper Ground, and intermix'd 'em ſo, Veteranes with the raw and undiſciplin'd, to the end that they might not be afraid to grapple a few in number with many, or leſs expert, with their Superiors in War: therefore that they ſhould be all in a readineſs

dineſs, and forward to aſſail the *Romans* upon the Signal given: That this was the Day which would either prove the end of all their Toyls by glorious Conqueſt, or the beginning of unavoydable Calamities. Then culling out by Name every particular Perſon, that for their Martial Deeds he had either enrich'd with Gold, or advanc'd to Military Honours, he admoniſhes 'em to be mindful of his Favours, and bids 'em encourage others with the ſame Expectancies. Laſtly, as if he underſtood the particular *Genius* of thoſe he ſpoke to, ſome he promiſes, others he threatens, but emboldens and encourages all by all the ways imaginable. All this while *Metellus*, ignorant of the Enemies Approach, is diſcover'd marching with his Army down the Hill. Who ſuddenly deſcrying an unuſual ſight, began to conſider; for the *Numidians* kept themſelves and their Horſes ſnug within the Trees and Buſhes, which nevertheleſs were not ſo high as to ſhelter 'em ſufficiently from being ſeen; and yet the nature of the Place was ſuch, that they could not fully be diſcover'd, beſides that they had cunningly hid all their Military Enſigns. But in a ſhort time the Truth being fully found out,

out, and the General made a ſteady halt, Then haſtning to embattel his Army, he chang'd the Order of his March, and in the right Wing which was next the Enemy, he places three Bodies of Reſerves. Between the ſmall Diviſions he diſperſes the Slingers and Darters, and plants all his Cavalry upon the Wings. Then after ſome few Exhortations to the Souldiers, for ſhortneſs of time would not permit him to uſe many words, he brings his Army thus Embatell'd into the Plain, only that the firſt Ranks chang'd their ground in Marching.

49. But when he perceiv'd that the *Numidians* lay ſtill, and would not come down from the Hill, fearing leſt his Men ſhould be diſtreſs'd for want of Water, he ſent *Rutilius* before with ſome of the nimbleſt Cohorts and part of the Horſe, to the River to ſecure a place for his Camp, believing that the Enemy would then powr down upon him, and by Charging him in Flank, endeavour to prevent him; and becauſe they durſt not rely upon their own Courage, would ſeek to tire out his Men with heat and drought. After Him, the Conſul follow'd, ſlowly deſcending

deſcending the Hill, as the nature of the Place would give leave. *Marius* brought up the Rear; himſelf march'd with the Cavalry upon the Left Wing. On the other ſide *Jugurth*, when he found that the Rear of *Metellus*'s Army was juſt paſt by the Front of his own Men, places a Guard of two thouſand Foot upon the Mountain, from whence *Metellus* had deſcended, to prevent the Enemy from regaining it, and fortifying themſeves in that place, ſhould they be put to a retreat; then giving the Signal, he flew upon the *Romans*. The *Numidians* ſoon made havock in the Rear, while others Charge in the Flank, ſome upon the right, others upon the left ſide: they preſs on, and lay about 'em, every where endeavouring to break the Ranks of the *Romans*; among whom, they who with greateſt reſolution labour'd to come to a cloſe Fight, were diſappointed by the uncertain Aſſaults of the Enemy, who fought and wounded at a diſtance thoſe that could reach to revenge themſelves. For the Horſemen had been inſtructed before by *Jugurth*, that when they were purſu'd by any of the *Roman* Troops, that they ſhould not retreat in a Body, but ſcatter ſeveral ways; by that means,

means, if they could not deter the Enemy from purſuit, they were in a Condition, being Superior in number, to Charge 'em when diſſipated on all ſides, Rear, Front and Flanks: and then a gain, if the Hill were more advantageous to ſecure their Flight then the Plain Fields, that then they ſhould retire thither, where their Horſes accuſtom'd to ſcoure through the Buſhes, could not be follow'd by our Men, eaſily incumber'd among the Shrubs and Thickets.

50. All this while the Event of things lookt but with an ill Aſpect; uncertain, various, bloody and miſerable; diſpers'd from their own, ſome fled, others purſu'd; neither Enſigns nor Orders obſerv'd; where-ever danger attacque'd any Man, there he made reſiſtance, Arms, Weapons, Horſes, Men, Enemies and Friends lay all intermingl'd together; nothing was acted by Counſel or Command, but Fortune govern'd. And now the day began to be far ſpent, and then the Iſſue was alſo uncertain; But at length, both ſides being ſpent with toyl and heat, *Metellus* obſerving the *Numidians* fury to abate, rallies his Men together by degrees, reduces 'em

'em into Order, and places four Legionary Cohorts againſt the Enemies foot: To thoſe Cohorts, of which the greateſt part, weary and tir'd, had poſſeſs'd the upper Grounds, *Metellus* gave good words, and deſir'd 'em not to deſert their fellow Souldiers nor ſuffer an Enemy half vanquiſh'd to wreſt the Victory out of their hands; that they had neither Camp nor Fortification to retreat to, but all their hopes was in their Swords. Neither was *Jugurth* idle, he rode about, exhorted, entreated, renew'd the fight, and in perſon with the ſelect Guards of his Body, try'd all places, reliev'd his own, preſs'd furiouſly upon thoſe that waver'd; and againſt thoſe he could not move, he fought at a diſtance. Thus theſe two famous Generals beſtirr'd themſelves, in Courage and Experience, in their Forces not ſo equally match'd. For *Metellus* had the more valiant Souldiers, tho the Ground was diſadvantageous; *Jugurth* had all Advantages of his ſide but only Souldiers. At length the *Romans* underſtanding they had no place of Refuge, and finding that the Enemy would not hazzard a cloſe Fight, beſides that it was now toward Evening, by the Generals Command they briskly charge up Hill; and

and then it was that the *Numidians* having loſt their footing, were ſoon routed and put to flight, few were ſlain, in regard that the ſwiftneſs of their Heels, and the Country unknown to the *Roman*, protected their Lives.

51. In the mean time *Bomilcar*, to whom *Jugurth* had given the Command of his Elephants, and part of his Infantry, as we have ſaid already, when *Rutilius* was March'd paſt him, brings his own Men into the Champaign ground by degrees; and whilſt the Legate haſtned to the River, whither he was ſent before, orders his Army with great ſilence, as it behov'd him, not neglecting however by his Spies to obſerve the Motions of the Enemy in every place. So ſoon as he underſtood that *Rutilius* was Encamp'd in a careleſs poſture; and found that *Jugurth* was engag'd by the hideous Noiſes that reach'd his Ears from the Battle, fearing leaſt the Legate when he underſtood the cauſe, would haſten to the Aſſiſtance of his own Party, he extends the Front of his Army, which before, upon diſtruſt of their Courage he had drawn up thick and cloſe, and to ſtop the March of the Enemy,

my, Marches directly toward *Rutilius*'s Camp. The *Romans* of a ſuddain perceive a prodigious Cloud of Duſt; for the fields being thick ſet with low Trees hindr'd a clear Proſpect: and believes at firſt that it was rais'd by the Wind; but afterwards when they ſaw it continue, and approach nearer and nearer to themſelves, then readily conjecturing what the matter was, they betake themſelves to their Arms, and range themſelves before the Camp according to command. When the Enemy drew near, both ſides joyn Battle, with a hideous clamour and noiſe: The *Numidians* ſtood faſt, ſo long as they thought there was any hope in their Elephants, but when they ſaw them entangl'd among the Boughs, and by that means overthrown and ſurrounded by the *Romans*, they betook themſelves to their Heels, and throwing away their Arms, by the benefit of the Hill and the Night, which was then at hand, eſcap'd with little Execution. Four Elephants were taken, the reſt to the number of forty kill'd. But the *Romans*, though tir'd with their March, with raiſing the Fortifications of their Camp, and the heat of the Battle; yet becauſe *Metellus* ſtaid longer

ger then was expected, they March forward Embattl'd, as they were, and with an extraordinary Resolution to meet him. For the Craft of the *Numidians* will admit of nothing negligent or remiss. At first, through the darkness of the Night, when they came within hearing one of another, being taken for Enemies, there was nothing but fear and hurry one among another. And through imprudence, a fatal Accident had like to have happen'd, had not the Forelorns on both sides rectify'd the mistake. But then their fears were chang'd of a suddain into joy. The Souldiers merrily call to one another, relate and hearken to one anothers Exploits; and every one extols his own Valour to the Skies. For such is the Condition of human Affairs, that after Victory Cowards have leave to boast, but ill success casts a reproach on the most Valiant.

52. *Metellus* stay'd four days in the same Camp; orders the wounded to be carefully look'd after; those that had well deserv'd in the Battle, he well Rewards according to the Military Custom, applauds 'em all in general, and gives 'em thanks in

in a Public Aſſembly. As to what was behind, which would now prove eaſy, he exhorted 'em to behave themſelves with equal Courage; that they had already fought ſufficiently for Victory, their other Toyls woul'd only be for Booty. In the mean time he ſends the Fugitives and other proper Spies to bring him News where *Jugurth* was, what he was doing, what force he had about him, and how he brook'd his loſs. But *Jugurth* had retir'd himſelf among the Woods and Places ſtrongly fortify'd by Nature; there he levy'd an Army more numerous that he had before; but ſuch as had neither Mettle nor Strength. Which happen'd ſo, for this reaſon, becauſe unleſs it were the Royal Cavalry, not one of all the *Numidians* accompani'd the King in his Flight, but every one took his own Courſe, as his Fancy lead him; neither is it accounted any ſhame for a Souldier ſo to do, as being the Cuſtom of the Country. *Metellus* therefore, when he found that the Kings Courage was not yet cool'd; but that the War would be renew'd, which could not then be manag'd but as *Jugurth* pleas'd himſelf: Moreover that he fought upon unequal terms with an Enemy, to

whom it was leſs prejudice to be vanquiſh'd, then to overcome his Men, he determin'd to fight no more pitch'd Battles, but to carry on the War after another manner. Therefore he Marches into the Richeſt Parts of *Numidia*, harraſſes and lays waſt all the Country, takes and burns ſeveral Caſtles and Towns either ſlightly fortify'd, or elſe without any Garriſons; puts all the Young men to the Sword, all other things he gives free Booty, to the Souldiers. Theſe ſevere Proceedings cauſe ſeveral to ſend Pledges to the *Romans*; Corn and all other neceſſary Proviſions, are plentifully ſupply'd; and where ever need requir'd, there he plac'd a Garriſon. Which manner of Warlike management terrify'd the King much more then the ill ſucceſs of a Battle. For that he, whoſe hopes of ſafety were all in flight, was now conſtrain'd to follow: And he that could not defend the Territories that were left him, was now forc'd to wage War in the Conqueſts of another. But in this diſtreſs and exigency of choice, he took that courſe which ſeem'd to him to be the wiſeſt.

He orders the Body of his Army ſtill to lie in the ſame place: He himſelf with a ſelect

a ſelect number of Horſe follows *Metellus*: and in regard his Nocturnal Marches, and unfrequented ways were not ſubject to quick Diſcovery, he frequently met with the *Roman* Forragers and Straglers; of which the greateſt part were ſlain or taken; nor did one eſcape unwounded: which done, before Aſſiſtance could be ſent from the Camp, the *Numidians* were vaniſh'd to the next Hills.

55. In the mean time there was extraordinary rejoycing at *Rome*, upon the News of *Metellus*'s ſucceſs; that he had govern'd both himſelf and the Army according to the Cuſtom and Diſcipline of their Anceſtors; that in a diſadvantageous ground he had obtain'd the Victory by his Valour; that he was Maſter of the Enemies Country, and had conſtrain'd *Jugurth*, vain-gloriouſly puff'd up and grown inſolent through the Cowardice of *Aulus*, to hide his head in Deſerts, and to place all his hopes of ſafety in Flight. Therefore the Senate order'd Supplications to the Immortal Gods for the ſucceſs of their Arms: The City trembling before, and ſolicitouſly dreading the Event of the War, were all in Feſtivals and Jollity;

and *Metellus*'s Fame ſpread far and near. For this reaſon he labour'd more vigorouſly after Victory: He leaves no ſtone unturn'd; yet provident all the while how he fell into the Ambuſcado's of the Enemy; mindful that after Glory Envy follows. Therefore the greater his Reputation was, ſo much the more Careful and Vigilant alſo was he; neither after the laſt Attempts of *Jugurth*, would he ſuffer the Army to forrage at random: and therefore when he wanted either Corn or Fodder, he ſent ſeveral Cohorts, and all the Cavalry to guard the Forragers. He himſelf led one part of the Army, and *Marius* the other: the Country was laid waſt, rather by Fire then driving of Booty; they Encamp'd in two ſeveral Places, not far diſtant one from the other. When there was occaſion for reinforcement they joyn'd both together: and when they deſign'd to clear and ravage the Country, and ſpread the Terror of their Arms, then they acted aſunder. At the ſame time *Jugurth* follow'd cloſe at their Heels, but ſtill keeping the Mountains. VVhere ever he could perceive the Enemy bent their March, there he deſtroy'd all the Forrage and poyſon'd the

the Wells and Fountains, of which there was great ſcarcity. Sometimes he would ſhew himſelf to *Metellus*, ſometimes to *Marius*; by and by fall upon the Rear; neither engage in Battle, nor ſuffer 'em to be at reſt; only to obſtruct the Enemies deſigns.

56. Therefore the *Roman* General, when he ſaw himſelf tir'd out by a crafty Adverſary, that would not be drawn to a fair Encounter, he determin'd to Beſiege a great City called * *Zama*, in that Quarter of the Country, the Key and Bulwark of the Kingdom, believing as it was but rational, that *Jugurth* would come to relieve the Place, and ſo give him the Opportunity of a Battle: But he being inform'd by the Fugitives of *Metellus*'s deſigns, with long Marches gets before him; encourages the Townſmen to defend their Walls, and leaves 'em all his Fugitives to re-inforce their Garriſon; which were a ſort of People the ſtouteſt and moſt reſolute of all the Kings Forces; as being under a conſtraint of being faithful: and having thus ſettl'd his Affairs, a-

* Now *Zamora* a 120. miles from *Carthage*, and a 100. from *Makometa*.

way he ſlips into the moſt private lurking holes he could meet with. Soon after he underſtood that *Marius* was upon his March, being commanded with ſome few Cohorts to Convoy a conſiderable quantity of Corn from * *Sicca*. Which was the firſt Town that revolted from the King after his Defeat. Thither *Jugurth* haſtens in the Night time, with ſome ſelect Troops of Horſe, and Engag'd the *Romans* as they were juſt Marching out at the Gate; and at the ſame time cry'd out to the Inhabitants to fall upon the Cohorts in the Rear; withall encouraging 'em, for that Fortune had put into their hands a noble Opportunity; which if they laid hold on, he ſhould for the future enjoy his Kingdom, and they their Liberty in Peace and Tranquillity. So that had not *Marius* fall'n on with all the fury imaginable, made his way out of the Town, and broke through the Enemy at the ſame time, either all or moſt

* Formerly a Colony of the *Aſſyrians* from *Succoth Benoth*, or rather of the *Phœnicians*; call'd alſo *Sicca Veneres*, by reaſon of a Temple therein Dedicated to *Venus*: but now utterly demoliſh'd, without any footſteps remaining. Tho' ſome will have it to be the Town now call'd *Antoingues*.

moſt of the Inhabitants, had chang'd their Fidelity: ſo mutable and inconſtant is the *Numidian* Faith. But *Jugurth*'s Souldiers being a while ſupported by the preſence of their Prince, when they felt the ſmart ſtrokes of the Enemy, who preſt in hard on the thickeſt and moſt forward, with the loſs of ſome few, betook themſelves to ſpeedy flight; and *Marius* comes ſafe to *Zama*.

57. This Town was ſeated in a Plain, rather fortify'd by Induſtry then Nature, provided with all Neceſſaries, and ſtor'd with Men and Ammunition. *Metellus* therefore having prepar'd all things in readineſs ſo far as the Time and Place would permit, ſurrounds the Walls with his whole Army, and gives Orders to the Legates what Poſts to take. Then upon the Signal given, a hideous Clamour fills the Skies on every ſide: but all their noiſe nothing terrifies the *Numidians*; they ſtand reſolute and fix'd without any Tumult; & ſo the Aſſault begins. The *Romans* plaid their parts as they thought beſt themſelves; ſome fought with Slings and Darts at a diſtance, others make cloſe Approaches, ſome to undermine, and ſome reſolv'd to ſet their Ladders to the Walls,

and make a ſpeedier trial of their Swords. On the other ſide, the *Numidians* powr down Stones, pointed Stakes and Darts upon thoſe that were neareſt, together with flaming Fire-brands all beſmear'd with Pitch and Tar. Nor could their Fears protect thoſe that kept fartheſt off: For the Darts continually diſcharg'd from the Engines, or elſe flung out of Hand, both reach'd and wounded the greateſt part: Both the Timorous and the Valiant underwent the ſame danger, though not with equal Reputation.

58. While both Sides vigorouſly thus diſpute for *Zama*, *Jugurth* of a ſudden, and when leaſt expected, falls upon the *Roman* Camp, and forcing the Turn-pike, breaks in upon our Men. Who being amaz'd with ſudden Fright, ſhift every one for themſelves according to cuſtom; ſome fly, ſome betake themſelves to their Arms; and a great many are either wounded or ſlain. Of all the Number, not above Forty, remembring they were *Romans*, embody'd together, betake themſelves to a Riſing Ground, and made it good, notwithſtanding the Force of the Aſſailants; the Darts thrown at 'em they return'd again, which from a few lighting upon many

ny crowded together, did never fall in vain: if the *Numidians* durſt approach 'em, then they ſhew'd their Courage, with a ſtrange Fury] routing, killing, putting all to flight. At the ſame time *Metellus* in the heat of the Aſſault, hearing a great Noiſe and Tumult behind him, turn'd about his Horſe, and perceiving a Rout, and that they that fled, made toward him, he readily conjectur'd what the Matter was. Thereupon he ſends away all his Cavalry forthwith to the Camp, and after them *Marius* with the Cohorts of the Allies, conjuring him with Tears in his Eyes, by the Friendſhip that was between 'em, and by the Honour of the Commonwealth, not to ſuffer any Diſgrace to ſtain the Victories of his Army, nor to leave the Enemy ere he had had his full Revenge. *Marius* vigorouſly perform'd his Command. So that *Jugurth* being incumber'd with the Fortifications of the Camp, while ſome threw themſelves headlong over the Rampire, others crowding through the narrow paſſages to get out, hinder'd one another, with the loſs of many of his Men, retir'd to his Faſtneſſes. *Metellus* alſo at the ſame time, not able to prevail, in regard that Night drew

drew on, retreated with his Army to the Camp.

59. The next day before he return'd to the Aſſault, he drew up all his Cavalry before the Camp on that ſide where he expected a ſecond Attempt from *Jugurth*, and commanded 'em there to keep a ſtrict Watch. The Turn-pikes and Places next adjoyning, he commits to the Guard of the *Tribunes*; and then ſurrounding the Town, as he did the day before, gives a ſecond general Aſſault. Preſently *Jugurth* makes a ſecond Attempt likewiſe upon our formoſt Men; who being ſomewhat terrify'd at firſt, are ſoon diſorder'd; but the Reſerves fly ſpeedily to their Relief. Nor could the *Numidians* have longer withſtood their Force, had not their Foot, being intermingl'd with the Cavalry, made a great Slaughter at the firſt Charge. For being aſſiſted by this intermixture, they did not, as it is uſual in other Charges of the Horſe, ſometimes preſs forward, ſometimes give Ground; but fell in pell-mell, Horſe Head to Horſe Head, thereby incumbring and diſordering the Ranks, at what time the Foot breaking in, had almoſt routed the Enemy.

60.

60. At the ſame time the Diſpute was no leſs deſperate at *Zamara*. Where every *Legate* or *Tribune* was poſted, there moſt vigorouſly they perform'd their Duties, no man confiding more in another, then in himſelf. On the other ſide, the Townſmen made a ſtrenuous Reſiſtance, they fought to wonder, and provided againſt all Accidents; more eager to wound others, then mindful of their own Safety. Hideous and different were the Cries of both Parties, Encouragements, Shouts of Joy, and bitter Groans of Lamentation; the Clattering of Weapons fill'd the Skies; and Showers of Darts fell thick on every ſide. At length they who defended the Walls, when they perceiv'd the Fury of the enemy a little to ſlacken, ſtood ſtill upon the Battlements to behold the Fight between the *Roman* & *Jugurth*'s Cavalry; and as *Jugurth* either prevail'd, or loſt Ground, ſometimes you ſhould ſee 'em overjoy'd, then again all in conſternation. And as far as they could be ſeen or heard by their fellows, ſome they beſought, others they encourag'd, making Signs with their Hands, and Motions of their Bodies, like men avoiding or darting forward their miſſive Weapons. Which when *Marius* per-

perceiv'd, for he had the Charge of that Quarter, on purpoſe he ſlacken'd his Fury, and diſſembl'd a Miſtruſt of the Event, ſuffering the *Numidians* to have an unmoleſted Proſpect of their Princes Bravery. But at length, while they were buſily gazing upon their Fellows, *Marius* attacks the Walls with a more then ordinary violence. And the Souldiers by the help of their Scaling Ladders, had almoſt gain'd the Battlements, when the Townſmen embodying of a ſudden, ply'd 'em with Stones, Fire-works, and other Miſſive Weapons. Our men made ſtout reſiſtance at firſt, but after two or three of the Ladders were broken, they that ſtood upon 'em were miſerably mortify'd; the reſt, few ſafe, every one, as beſt they could, ſhifted for themſelves, and very few eſcaping unwounded, the moſt part hurt and maim'd, quitted the Aſſault: at length Night parted the bloody Fray.

61. When *Metellus* found ſuch ill Succeſs of his Enterprize, and that neither the Town could be taken, nor *Jugurth* drawn to fight, but where he had the advantage of Ground or Ambuſcado's, and that Summer was ſpent, he rais'd his Siege

Siege from before *Zama*, and plac'd Garriſons in thoſe Cities which had revolted from him, and were either naturally or artificially fortify'd; and the reſt of the Army he quarter'd in that part of the Province which borders upon *Numidia*. Nor did he ſpend that Time as others were wont to do, in Eaſe and Luxury, but finding Force ſo little prevail'd, he therefore betook himſelf to Stratagem: To this purpoſe, with fair Words and large Promiſes he attempts *Bomilcar*. This was he who accompany'd *Jugurth* to *Rome*, and after he had given Sureties for his forth-coming, upon the Murder of *Maſſiva*, ſecretly made his Eſcape, for fear of being put to death; and therefore by reaſon of his intimacy with *Jugurth*, had the fairer opportunity to betray his Friend. The firſt thing *Metellus* did, was to bring him to a private Meeting: in the next place he gave him his word, That if he would deliver *Jugurth* into his hands alive or dead, the Senate ſhould not only grant him Impunity, but his own Demands. The *Numidian* is eaſily perſwaded, being not only naturally treacherous, but alſo miſdoubting, leſt if the *Romans* ſhould make a Peace with his Maſter,

ſter, he might be excepted out of the Articles, and deliver'd up to condign puniſhment.

62. He therefore, upon the firſt Opportunity he could meet with, coming to *Jugurth*, and finding him troubl'd, and bewailing his Misfortunes, with Tears in his Eyes beſeeches and conjures him, that at length he would take pity of himſelf, his Children, and the miſerable Eſtate of the *Numidian* People, ſo well deſerving at his hands: further he put him in mind, That ſtill in all Encounters they were vanquiſh'd; the Country was laid waſte, numbers of his Subjects carry'd away Captive, or ſlain, and the Treaſures of the Kingdom utterly impoveriſh'd; That he had ſufficiently try'd his Fortune, and the Courage of his Souldiers; and therefore that he ſhould take heed, leſt while he delay'd, the *Numidians* did not conſult for their own Safety. By theſe and other Arguments of this Nature, he mollifies the King's Inclinations to a Surrender. Commiſſioners are therefore ſent to the General, to let him know, That *Jugurth* was ready to obey his Commands, and without any Compoſition

to

to ſurrender both himſelf and the Kingdom to his Generoſity: *Metellus* preſently ſends for all that were of Senatorian Degree, from their Winter Quarters, and adviſes with them, and ſuch others as he thought convenient. Thereupon, according to the ancient Cuſtom, by his Meſſengers He commands *Jugurth* to ſend him two hundred pound weight of Silver, all his Elephants, ſuch a number of Horſes, and ſuch a quantity of warlike Ammunition; which being done, he commands all the Fugitives to be deliver'd up in Chains. The greateſt part of them were alſo ſent accordingly; only ſome few upon the firſt Report of a Surrender, immediately fled to King *Bocchus* into *Mauritania*. Thus was *Jugurth* deſpoyl'd of his Arms, the Flower of all his Forces, and his Money. But when he was ſummon'd to appear before the General, then reſiding at *Tiſidium*, then he began to change his Mind, and through Guilt of Conſcience to dread what really he deſerv'd. At length, after he had waſted many days in heſitation, ſometimes as it were tir'd with his Misfortunes, deeming all things to be endur'd before the Calamities of War; then again reflecting with him-

himſelf, how terrible a Fall it would be from a Kingdom into Slavery, at laſt he makes choice of War. At *Rome*, the *Senate* being mov'd concerning the Provinces, decree *Numidia* to *Metellus.*

63. At the ſame time *Marius* being by accident at *Utica*, and there making his Offerings to the Gods for his Succeſs in the laſt Expedition, the Soothſayer told him, That the Signs portended great and wonderful Events in reference to himſelf, and therefore whatever he had in his Mind, he might boldly act, in confidence of the Favour of the Gods; That he might venture Fortune as often as he pleas'd, for that he ſhould proſper in all his Undertakings.

64. Some time before this, a violent Ambition of the Conſulſhip had harraſs'd his Thoughts. For the Atchievement of which, beſide the Antiquity of his Family, he ſtood fair in all other reſpects Induſtry, Probity, Military Experiennce, a vaſt Courage in War, great Frugality, a Contemner of Pleaſure and ſuperfluous Wealth, only impatient of Honour. He was born and bred up during all the time

time of his Childhood at *Arpinum, where he first learnt to undergo the hardships of War, wherein he spent his Youth, serving all along for Pay; not in the Study of *Grecian* Eloquence, or City Courtship: and thus in a short time he attain'd to a perfection in vertuous Exercises. And therefore when he first stood for the Military *Tribuneship* at an Assembly of the Commons, most People not knowing his Face, when once they heard his Name, he presently carry'd it by the Voyces of all the Tribes. From that Office he advanc'd himself still higher and higher by degrees, and in all Employments so behav'd himself, that he was always deem'd worthy of a Nobler then that he possess'd at present. But till that time, notwithstanding his matchless Bravery (for still Ambition hurry'd him headlong) he durst not stand for the Consulship. For then the Commonalty dispos'd of other Offices, but the Consulship the Nobility shar'd successively among themselves. No upstart Person never so famous, never so celebrated for his great Atchievments, was thought worthy, but

* Now *Arpino* in the *Terra di Lavoro* in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

rather a Defilement of that Honour

64. *Marius* therefore, when he ſaw that the predictions of the Soothſayer tended the ſame way that his Ambition carry'd him, deſir'd *Metellus* to ſpare him from the Army, that he might have liberty to ſtand for the Conſulſhip; who, though he were a Perſon in whom Vertue, Honour, and all other Qualities, noble and deſirable, were brightly eminent, yet were they accompany'd with a diſdainful Mind and lofty Pride, the common Failings of the Nobility. Mov'd therefore at firſt with the Novelty of *Marius*'s Demand, he wonder'd at his Deſign, and as it were in Friendſhip adviſ'd him not to act ſo prepoſterouſly, nor to advance his Thoughts above his Fortune: That all things were not proper to be deſir'd by all men; That it became him to be contented with his preſent Preferments, which were ſufficient. Laſtly, That he ſhould conſider well before he made a Requeſt of ſo high a Nature to the People of *Rome*, that might be lawfully deny'd him. After he had given him theſe and many more Admonitions of the ſame Nature,

yet

yet could not divert *Marius* from his ſetl'd Intentions, he made him anſwer, That ſo ſoon as the Public Affairs would permit, he would grant him his Deſires. And afterwards when *Marius* urg'd him with greater importunity, it is reported, That he ſhould adviſe him, not to be too haſty, adding withal, That it would be time enough for him to ſtand for the Conſulſhip with his Son; who at that time was a private Souldier in his Fathers Pavilion, about twenty years of Age. Which Taunt of *Metellus* not only vehemently incens'd him to proſecute the Honour which he affected, but alſo againſt *Metellus* himſelf. For that reaſon he follow'd the Dictates of his Ambition, and his Wrath, the worſt of evil Counſellors: All his Words and Actions now tended to Popularity: The Souldiers which he commanded, he permitted to live more looſly then before: Among the Merchants, of which there was a great number at *Utica*, he ſcatter'd many ſcandalous and oſtentatious Reports concerning the War: That if he might have the Command but of half the Army, he would in a days time have *Jugurth* in Chains; and that the War was on purpoſe ſpun

out by the General, as one that being a Perſon vain-glorious, and of Princely Pride, too much affected Power and Command. Which the Merchants more readily believ'd to be true, for that by the continuance of the War, their Trade was very much hinder'd; and to a Covetous Mind all Procraſtination ſeems a Crime.

65. There was at that time in our Army a certain *Numidian*, by Name *Gauda*, the Son of *Manaſtabales*, the Grand-child of *Maſſiniſſa*, whom *Micipſa* by his Will had left the next Heir of the Kingdom, full of Diſeaſes, and for that reaſon ſomewhat craz'd in his Sences: to whom *Metellus*, upon two Requeſts, that according to the Cuſtom of Princes, he might have his Chair ſet next the General's Seat, as alſo a Troop of *Roman* Horſe for the Guard of his Body, had deny'd him both: The Honour, becauſe it repreſented that Majeſty, which the *Romans* term'd Regal, and could not endure to ſuffer always in their ſight: The Guard, becauſe it look'd diſgraceſully for the *Roman* Horſe to attend upon a *Numidian*. This Perſon therefore thus repuls'd, and vex'd in his Mind, *Marius* attempts, and emboldens

dens him to take his Revenge upon the General for the Affronts he had put upon him, as he ſhould direct him. He magnifies the Man diſtemper'd in Mind through bodily Diſtempers, with flattering and glozing Speeches, puts him in mind of his being a Prince, a great Perſon, the Grand-child of *Maſſiniſſa*: That if *Jugurth* ſhould be taken or ſlain, the Kingdom of *Numidia* fell immediately to him by right of Inheritance; which would ſuddenly come to paſs, if he might once be ſent as Conſul to manage the War. By this means he perſwades the *Numidian*, the *Roman* Knights, the Souldiers, and Merchants, ſome by his own Authority, others upon hopes of ſudden Peace, to write to their Friends at *Rome*, and in their Letters ſharply to inveigh againſt the dilatory Proceedings of *Metellus*, and at the laſt to deſire *Marius* for their General. And thus it came to paſs, that by the fair Suffrages of many Men the Conſulſhip was labour'd for in his behalf. Beſides it ſo happen'd, ſeaſonably for him at that time, that the Nobility being curb'd by the * *Manlian* Law, the Commonalty had Power to

* By which it was provided, that when the

Nobility in the management of warlike Affairs had any ill ſucceſs, that the Commonalty ſhould have power to elect new Men.

advance new Men: all things fell out luckily for *Marius*.

66. In the mean time *Jugurth*, after he had falſify'd his promiſe of ſubmiſſion, and renew'd the War, with great Induſtry makes vaſt preparations, uſes all expedition, Levies an Army; thoſe Cities which had revolted from him he ſolicites with Rewards, or regains by Terror; fortifies his ſtrong Holds; repleniſhes his Stores with Ammunition and Warlike Furniture; entices the *Roman* Slaves to revolt, and thoſe that were in Gariſons he tempts with ready Money: Laſtly he leaves no ſtone unturn'd, nor ſuffers any Soul to reſt in quiet; but caſts about every way to procure diſturbance. At *Vacca* therefore, where *Metellus*, when *Jugurth* firſt began to treat of Peace, had plac'd a Garriſon, wearied with the Importunities of the King, and never truly alienated in their Affections from him, the chief Inhabitants of the Town conſpire together among themſelves, (for the common People according to their uſual Cuſtom, eſpecially the *Numidians*, naturally fluctuating and

and inconſtant, ſeditious, and deſpiſers of Harmonious Concord, were ſtill thirſting after Novelty, and Adverſaries to Peace and Tranquillity) and having laid their Plot ſure, agree upon the third Day, which happen'd to be one of their moſt Solemn Feſtivals, and ſtrictly obſerv'd over all *Africa*, and therefore gave them an opportunity to aſſemble without ſuſpicion, under pretence of Sport and Paſtime. Thereupon when the time came, they invited to their Houſes the *Centurions*, Colonels and the Governor himſelf *F. Turpilius*: all thoſe they ſlew in the midſt of their Cups, except *Turpilius*: which done they fell upon the Souldiers, ſtragling up and down without their Arms, being then oblig'd to no duty, by reaſon of the day. The ſame did all the Rabble, part inſtructed before hand by their Superiors, others out of their natural Affection to diſorders; to whom Tumult and Novelty, though they neither underſtood the Cauſe nor Motives, were things pleaſing and delightful. The *Roman* Souldiers ſurpriz'd thus of a ſuddain, uncertain and doubtful what Courſe to take, fled in a pannick fear to the Caſtle belonging to the Town, where their Enſigns and Targets lay: but the

Garriſon of the Enemies, having ſhut the Gates before, prevented their Flight, and to add to their Misfortune, the Women and Children flung down Stones and ſuch other Materials as the place would afford, continually upon their Heads from the tops of the Houſes. Thus there was no avoiding the uncertain Miſchief, neither was it in the power of the ſtouteſt to make reſiſtance againſt the weakeſt: Valiant and Cowards, ſtrong and feeble fell all together, and many were ſlain. In the heat of this Maſſacre, while the *Numidians* were exerciſing their utmoſt fury, and all the Gates were ſhut, *Turpilius* made a clever eſcape untouch'd, whether it were through the Civility of his Hoſt, or upon a Compoſition of Ranſom, or by accident, we never could diſcover. This is only to be ſaid, that becauſe in ſuch a Calamity, he prefer'd an ignominious Life before an unblemiſh'd Reputation, he appear'd to be a wicked and deteſtable Coward.

68. When this fatal Butchery at *Vacca* reach'd *Metellus*'s Ears, penſive for a while, he retir'd from Company. But when his wrath and ſorrow once were interblended

interblended he haſtens withall expedition to revenge the Outrage. To that purpoſe, he draws forth the Legion that winter'd with him, and as many of the *Numidian* Horſe as he could, juſt about Sun-ſet. The next day, about One in the Morning, he arriv'd at a certain Valley ſurrounded with little Hillocks: there he reſts his Souldiers tir'd with a long Nights march, and murmuring to go any farther: but he gave 'em good words, told 'em that *Vacca* lay not above a mile off; that it was their duty to endure patiently the remainder of their Toyl, until they had fully reveng'd the Deaths of their Fellow-Citizens, the braveſt but moſt unfortunate of Men: and then largely lays before 'em the Temptations of Plunder. And having thus inſpir'd 'em with new Courage, he places his Horſe in Front, and cauſes his Foot to March in cloſe Order, and to hide their Enſign.

67. The *Vaccenſians* when they perceiv'd an Army marching toward 'em, at firſt believing (as indeed it was) that *Metellus* was at hand, ſhut up their Gates; but then again, finding no waſt committed upon

upon their Lands, and beholding the *Numidian* Horse that March'd in the Front, confidently assur'd it was *Jugurth* himself, they pour'd forth with loud Acclamations to meet him. But then, upon the Signal given, Horse and Foot fell on pell mell; some put the rabble to the Sword; others flew to the Gates, while others seiz'd upon the Towers. Thus provok'd Fury and hopes of spoil prevail'd above their instant Lassitude. For the *Vaccensians* enjoy'd the pleasure of their perfidiousness not above two days: while their City, large and oppulent, becomes a Sacrifice to Plunder or Revenge. As for *Turpilius*, who was Governor of the Town, as is before related, he being Try'd by a Council of War, and having little to say for himself, was by *Metellus* Condemn'd to be first well Scourg'd, and then to have his head strook off: for he was no more then a * Citizen of *Collatia*.

* That is to say an *Italian* only. Otherwise he could not have been whipt by the *Portian* Law.

70. At the same time *Bomilcar*, by whose perswasions *Jugurth* began to incline to that submission, which he afterwards through fear

fear abondon'd, being ſuſpected by the King, and he no leſs ſuſpicious of him, projected new diſturbances; to ſeek the Kings deſtruction by Treachery; Night and Day to tire his reſtleſs thoughts; and laſtly after he had try'd all ways, he draws into the ſame Conſpiracy one *Nabdalſa*, a Nobleman, vaſtly rich, and greatly belov'd in his Country; who frequently in the Kings abſence was wont to Command the Army, and manage all Affairs, when *Jugurth* was either weary, or intent upon more important buſineſs: which got him not only great Honour, but infinite Wealth. Thereupon, by an agreement among themſelves, a day is appointed for execution of the Treaſon. But how it was to be done was left to time and opportunity. After this agreement *Nabdalſa* returns to the Army which he had under his Charge, and lay near the Winter Quarters of the *Romans*, to prevent their waſting the Country without oppoſition. But he, being terrify'd with the Enormity of the Fact, and diſſwaded by his fears, and not meeting again according to appointment, *Bomilcar* wavering between the eager deſire he had to expedite his Treachery begun, and the dread of his

Aſſociates

Aſſociates diſcovery, yet unwilling to quit his firſt deſign for new Contrivancies, by truſty Meſſengers ſends him a Letter, wherein he upbraids his negligence and irreſolution; calls the Gods to witneſs by whom he had ſworn; admoniſhes him to beware leſt *Metellus*'s Bribes did not turn to his perdition; tells him withal, that *Jugurth*'s deſtruction was at hand; only the Queſtion was, whether he ſhould periſh by theirs or the Courage of *Metellus*.

71. When theſe Letters were brought, *Nabdalſa* by accident, being weari'd with hard exerciſe, was a Bed. So that after he had read the Contents, at firſt a thouſand cares diſtracted his thoughts, and after that, as is uſual with men diſturb'd in Mind, ſleep' ſeizes him. There attended upon him at that time, a certain *Numidian*, that carefully lookt after all his buſineſs, highly careſs'd by him, and partaker of all his Secrets, but the laſt. Who hearing that a Letter was brought to his Maſter, and believing it ſome buſineſs that concern'd him according to his uſual Cuſtom went into the Chamber; and as his Maſter ſoundly ſlept, he takes

the

the Letter, that lay carelesly upon his Pillow, reads it, and understanding the Treachery, hastens forthwith to the King. *Nabdalsa*, waking soon after, and first missing both the Letter and his Servant, then by his Guards understanding how things stood, immediately he posted after the Discoverer, thinking to overtake him, but finding that to be labour in vain, away he goes to *Jugurth*, and in hopes to make up the breach, tells him, That what he intended to have done, the perfidiousness of his Servant had prevented; and with tears in his Eyes, by all the friendship he had for him, and by all the faithful services he had done him, besought him not to think him Guilty of so foul a piece of Treason.

72. To which the King, contrary to what he had in his heart, return'd a soft and mild Answer, That *Bomilcar* and several others, whom he had discover'd to be Confederates in the Conspiracy, having suffer'd according to their deserts, he had qualify'd and subdu'd his Indignation, that no further trouble might arise from any farther scrutiny. But from that time forward, *Jugurth* ne'er enjoy'd a quiet minute day

day or night. All Persons, Places, Times and Seasons were suspected by him. All the night long he sculk'd from place to place, beneath the Majesty of a Prince: in the day time starting out of his slumbers, he would lay hold of his Sword, and disturb all that lay near him; so like to Madness were the fears that turmoyl'd his thoughts.

73. *Metellus* therefore when he was inform'd by the Fugitives of *Bomilcar*'s death, and the Discovery of the Conspiracy, makes all the speedy preparations he could, as for a War but newly begun. And for *Marius*, dayly importuning him for his dismission, he discharg'd him, as not deeming a Person that bore him a Grudge, and otherwise distastful to him, would do him any service. At *Rome* also, the Commons understanding what the Letters had dispers'd abroad in reference to *Metellus* and *Marius*, entertain'd with equal violence the Reports of both. The Generals Nobility, which before was an Honour to him, was now a disgrace: and the meanness of the other's Parentage procur'd him favour. However the Partialities of the Factions were so moderate, as never to question their

their Vertues or their Vices. Moreover, the Seditious Magiſtrates exaſperated the the Common People; in all their Aſſemblies, they accuſe *Metellus*, as worthy of Death, but the Courage of *Marius* they magnify as far above his deſert. Laſtly the Rabble were ſo incens'd, that all the Handicraft Tradeſmen and Ploughmen, whoſe Eſtates and Credit lay all in their hands, leaving their Shops and Husbandry never omitted a public Meeting to cry up *Marius*, poſtponing the dayly ſupply of their own Indigences to his Advancement. Thus the Nobility being cow'd and diſmay'd, the Conſulſhip, after many tempeſtuous contentions, is decreed to an Upſtart. And after that, the queſtion being put to the People by *L. Manlius Mantinus*, whom they would have to carry on the War with *Jugurth*, in a full Aſſembly they commanded *Marius*.

74. At the ſame time, *Jugurth*, having loſt his friends, the moſt of which he had put to death himſelf, the reſt, part out of fear, had made their peace with the *Romans*, or were fled to King *Bocchus*, knowing that a War could not be carry'd on without Aſſiſtants, and deeming it dangerous

gerous to hazzard the fidelity of Strangers, after he had found his old Acquaintance ſo unfaithful, was variouſly toſs'd and tormented with unquiet thoughts: neither the Deſign, nor the Counſel, nor the ſight of any Perſon could pleaſe him: every day he alter'd his Commanders, and vary'd his Marches, ſometimes towards the Enemie, ſometimes into the Deſerts; Sometimes he lookt upon flight as his ſecureſt Refuge; and then again he had ſome glimmering hopes of ſucceſs: yet ſtill in doubt, which leſs to truſt, whither the Courage or Fidelity of his People. And thus which way ſoe'er he turn'd himſelf, Adverſity ſtill frown'd upon him. At length in the midſt of theſe uncertainties and diſaſtrous Reflections, *Metellus* ſhews himſelf with his Army. Preſently *Jugurth* marſhals his *Numidians* as the time would give him leave, and the fight begins. Where the King was preſent in Perſon, there for a while was ſome reſiſtance; all the reſt of his Army, upon the very firſt Charge were routed and put to flight; leaving their Enſigns, their Arms, and a conſiderable number of their fellows in the Poſſeſſion of the *Romans*. For in all Battles the *Numidians* were more

more beholding for their safety to their Heels then to their Swords.

75. After the loss of the Battle, *Jugurth*, now more then ever despairing of success, with the Fugitives, and part of his Cavalry, betakes himself into the Desert; and from thence to * *Thala*, a large and stately Town, where most of his Treasure, and all the costly Wardrobe belonging to his Children lay. Of which when *Metellus* had Intelligence, though between *Thala* and the River adjoyning to his Camp, he knew there was nothing but vast and landy Desarts for Fifty miles together, yet in hopes of putting an end to the War, if he could but make himself Master of that Town, he resolves to break through all the difficulties, and to overcome Nature her self. To this purpose he orders all the Beasts of Carriage to be laden with the Baggage, except only flour for ten days, which the Souldiers were to carry in their Snapsacks: he also makes great Provision of Leathern Bottles and Casks for his Water: He picks up all the Cattle he can find in the Neighbouring

* Now utterly unknown, and the place of its Situation forgot.

bouring Parts, and them he orders to be laden with an infinite number of wooden Veſſels, which they found in the *Numidian* Cottages. Moreover he orders the Borderers that had ſurrendred themſelves after the flight of the King what quantity of Water he expected at their hands, and appoints 'em a day and place where they ſhould be ready: and then fills his own Veſſels from the River, which we have already mentioned: and thus furniſh'd with all things neceſſary, he Marches directly for *Thala*. When he came to that place where the *Numidians* were Commanded to tarry for him, after he had pitch'd his Tents and fortify'd his Camp, ſuch violent ſhowers of Rain are reported to have fallen on a ſuddain from the Sky, that there was Water enough and to ſpare for the whole Army. Proviſions alſo were plentiful beyond expectation; in regard the *Numidians*, as is uſual while the awe of a new Conqueſt continues, had been extreamly double diligent. Upon the Souldiers, alſo the Rain had wrought a Superſtitious effect, while the ſeeming Miracle gave new boldneſs to their Courage; believing that now the Immortal Gods took care of their Perſons,

ſons, and favour'd their Enterprize; and thus the next day, they arriv'd before *Thala*, contrary to *Jugurth*'s expectation. The Townſmen, who thought themſelves ſecure by reaſon of their inacceſſible Situation, amaz'd to ſee themſelves ſo unexpectedly ſurpriz'd, were nevertheleſs induſtrious to prepare for ſtout Reſiſtance, and with the ſame alacrity did ours prepare for the Aſſault.

76. But *Jugurth* now believing there was nothing impoſſible to *Metellus*, as one againſt whoſe Induſtry no Arms or Weapons, nor inequality of Ground would prevail, but had overcome even Nature her ſelf, with his Children, and the greateſt part of his Treaſure deſerted the Town, and fled away in the Night; nor did he afterwards tarry in any one place above one day or a Night at moſt. Nevertheleſs that he might not ſeem to abandon the Town, he pretended urgency of Affairs and new Deſigns, but indeed becauſe he was afraid of Treaſon, which he thought to prevent by a ſpeedy retiring himſelf: for that ſuch contrivances of Treachery were hatch'd by leaſure and opportunity. On the other ſide *Metellus*, when he ſaw

the Townſmen reſolv'd to defend themſelves, and that the Town was alſo ſtrongly fortify'd as well by Nature as by Art, he entrenches his Army round about the Walls, and then places his *Vines*, and Engines in ſuch places as he thought moſt proper. Behind them he alſo raiſes Bulwarks, and upon them Towers to defend the Souldiers and Pioneers. On the other ſide, the Townſmen labour might and main to fruſtrate his Approaches, neither was any thing of Art or Induſtry omitted on either ſide. At length after much toyl, and ſeveral Combats and Onſets, the *Romans*, forty days after they ſate down before it, became Maſters of the Town only, in regard the Fugitives had ſet Fire to the Plunder. For they, when they perceiv'd the Walls began to totter through the fury of the Battering Rams, and that their Affairs were in a deſperate Condition, carry'd all their Gold, Silver and other precious moveables into the Kings Houſe, where after they had ſtupify'd their Sences with Wine and good Chear, they ſet Fire to the Houſe, and burnt themſelves and all that was in it, of their own accords inflicting upon themſelves the ſame puniſhment, which they

they dreaded at the hands of their Enemies.

77. But at the ſame time that *Thala* was taken, certain Meſſengers ſent from *Leptis* to *Metellus*, arriv'd at the Camp, beſeeching him to ſend 'em both a Garriſon and a Governor. That there was one *Hamilcar* among 'em, a Perſon of Noble Extraction, but Factious, who went about to raiſe diſturbances in the City, and ſollicited the People to revolt. Neither was the Power of the Magiſtrate, nor the Authority of the Law ſufficient to put a ſtop to his Proceedings: and that unleſs he made great haſte, the Safety of the City, and their Allegiance to the *Romans* would be in great danger. For the People of *Leptis* at the firſt beginning of the *Jugurthine* War, had ſent to *Beſtia* the Conſul, and afterwards to *Rome*, requeſting Amity and a mutual League. Which after they had obtain'd, they continu'd juſt and faithful, and whatever they were commanded by *Beſtia*, *Albinus* or *Metellus* to do, they diligently and ſedulouſly perform'd; and for that reaſon the General readily condeſcended to their Deſires: ſending 'em a Garriſon of four

Ligurian Cohorts, and *C. Annius* for their Governor.

78. This Town was built by the *Sidonians*, who being forc'd to abandon their Native Country by reaſon of Civil Diſcord, came by Sea into thoſe Parts; ſeated between two vaſt Banks of Sand, and derives its Name from the Nature of the Place. For upon the utmoſt Limits of *Africa*, two Bays extend themſelves not far diſtant one from another; unequal in Bigneſs, but in Nature both alike. The Parts next the Land are very deep; the other Parts, as the Wind lies, ſometimes deep, ſometimes ſhallow; for when the Sea runs high, and the Wind blows hard, the Billows drive the Sand and Ouze, together with the maſſy, looſe & rocky ſtones before 'em: and thus the whole Surface of the Bottom changes with the violence of the Wind and Tide: and therefore are they call'd *Syrtes*, from drawing the Stones and Sands from one place to another. The Language of the City is now quite alter'd by their vicinity to the *Numidians*. The moſt of their Laws and Religious Ceremonies are *Sidonian*; the more eaſily retain'd, becauſe they live remote

remote from the King's Court. Beſides that beween them and the inhabited Parts of *Numidia*, lie vaſt and unfrequented Deſarts.

79. And now ſince the Affairs of *Leptis* have drawn us into theſe Parts, it will not be amiſs to rehearſe an Action of two *Carthaginian* Brethren, of which the Place it ſelf puts me in mind; there being few that more deſerve the Remembrance of Hiſtory. At what time the *Carthaginians* were Maſters of the greateſt part of *Africa*, the People of *Cyrene* likewiſe were both powerful and opulent. The Countrey between is ſandy, and altogether level; not ſo much as a River or Mountain to aſcertain the Limits of their Territories; which was the occaſion of an outragious and laſting War between 'em. After many Armies defeated, many Sea-Engagements with great Loſs on both ſides, when they had almoſt ruin'd one another, fearing at length, both Victors and Vanquiſh'd, their becoming a Prey to a Third Enemy, they make a Truce, and then an Agreement, That upon ſuch a certain day they would ſend their Ambaſſadors from home, and whereſoever thoſe Ambaſſadors met, that

Place ſhould be the certain Bounds of both their Dominions. To this purpoſe, two Brothers being ſent from *Carthage*, both call'd by the Name of *Philæni*, they made all the ſpeed they could; the *Cyrenians* travell'd ſlowly: but whether it were through negligence, or by chance, I am not able to ſay. Yet in thoſe Places a contrary Wind is no leſs troubleſom to a Traveller then at Sea. For when Tempeſtuous Guſts blow hard, and bruſh thoſe level Sands, naked of all manner of Coverture, the Duſt & Pebbles ſo terribly moleſt the Sight and Faces of Travellers, that not daring to open their Eyes, they are no longer able to proceed in their Journey. Howere it were, the *Cyrenians* finding they had loyter'd behind, and fearing Capital Puniſhment for their Negligence, at their Return, quarell'd with the *Carthaginians*, and accus'd 'em of ſetting forward from home beſord their Time; made a hideous Buſtle, ann reſolv'd whatere it coſt 'em, not to reture home Loſers. Whereupon, when thy *Carthaginians* proffer'd to accept of ane Condition that was but reaſonable, thr *Greeks* made this Propoſal, That eithes the *Carthaginians* ſhould ſuffer themſelve

to

to be bury'd alive in that Place which they claim'd for the Limits of their Empire, or elſe upon the ſame Condition, That they would travel forward as far as they thought fit. Whereupon the *Philæni*, accepting the Propoſal, ſurrender'd themſelves and their Lives for the Good of the Commonwealth, and were bury'd alive without more ado. In remembrance of which pious Act, the *Carthaginians* erected Altars, which they conſecrated to the Memories of the Two Brethren, beſides other Honours which were decreed 'em at home. Now I return to the Matter in hand.

80. *Jugurth*, after the Loſs of *Thala*, thought nothing ſufficiently ſecure againſt the Conduct of *Metellus*; and therefore croſſing vaſt Deſarts, with a ſmall Retinue, at length he comes to the *Getulians*, a fierce and barbarous ſort of People, and at that time unacquainted with the *Roman* Name. Of theſe, he muſters together a vaſt Multitude, and by degrees accuſtoms 'em to keep their Ranks, to follow their Enſigns, to obey Commands, and ſeveral other Points of Military Diſcipline. Moreover, by great Gifts and larger

larger Promiſes he procures the Favour of ſuch as had the Ear of King *Bocchus*, and by their Aſſiſtance addreſſing himſelf to the King, he perſwades him to undertake a War againſt the *Romans*. Which *Bocchus* was the more eaſily inclin'd to do, in regard that at the beginning of the *Jugurthine* War he had ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to deſire a League and Friendſhip with the *Romans*. Which Overture, moſt advantageous at the beginning of that War, ſome few obſtructed, blinded with Covetouſneſs, and according to their uſual Cuſtom, putting all things to Sale, both honeſt and diſhoneſt. Beſides, *Jugurth* but a little before had marry'd the Daughter of *Bocchus*. But that ſame Tye of Relation is little valu'd among the *Moors* and *Numidians*, becauſe they marry ſeveral Wives, ſome Ten, and others more, according to their Eſtates, and Princes conſequently a far greater Number: So that being thus diſtracted with variety, the King advances none to his Society particularly, but looks on all as equally vile, and equally inferior.

81.

81. Therefore at the Rendezvouz by both appointed, both Armies meet; and there both Princes giving and taking mutual Oaths of Fidelity and Conſtancy, *Jugurth* in a ſet Speech, the more to exaſperate *Bocchus*, tells him, That the *Romans* were unjuſt, immenſely covetous, the common Enemies of all Mankind; That they would make the ſame Pretences ſerve for an occaſion of War with *Bocchus* as with him, and other Nations, Ambition of Rule; as having a perfect Antipathy againſt Monarchs. That at preſent Himſelf; a little before the *Carthaginians*, and King *Perſeus* were the Objects of their Fury; andthat hereafter the Power and Opulency of any Prince would be a ſufficient Provocation for the *Romans* to quarrel with him. This ſaid, away they bend their March for *Cirta*, for that *Metellus* there had ſtow'd his Booty, Captives and his Baggage. Thence *Jugurth* conſider'd, That either the taking of the Place would be worth his while; or if the *Romans* attempted to relieve it, he ſhould have the opportunity to fight 'em. For it was his Policy, to make haſte, to engage *Bocchus* beyond the Hopes of Peace, leſt

left by delay his Mind might vary, to accept of any Conditions rather then enter into a War.

82. But the General ſo ſoon as he had Intelligence that there was a League between the two Kings, would not raſhly, nor upon every ſlight occaſion proffer Battel, as he was wont to do after he had overthrown *Jugurth*; but having fortify'd his Camp not far from *Cirta*, there he waits the coming of the Kings, believing it his wiſer courſe to fight upon Advantage, after he had made Trial of the Courage of the *Moors*, as being an Enemy with which he had never yet engag'd. In the mean time he had Advice by Letters from *Rome*, that the Province of *Numidia* was given to *Marius*: for he had heard before that he was elected *Conſul*. The News of which ſo ſtrangely mov'd him beyond all meaſure; and put him ſo beſide himſelf, that he could neither refrain from Tears, nor moderate his Tongue: a Man ſo excellent and ſo accompliſh'd in all other things, yet not able to brook his inward Vexations. Which ſome attributed to his Pride, others to the Generoſity of his Nature; that

that could not ſuffer an Affront: but many to his Indignation, that the Victory now as good as won, ſhould be wreſted out of his Hands. But we are ſatisfy'd, that *Marius*'s Honour more tormented him, then the Injury done to himſelf, and that he would not have taken it ſo impatiently, had the Province when taken from him, been beſtow'd upon any other then *Marius*.

83. *Metellus* therefore ſick of this Diſtemper, and becauſe he deem'd it a folly for him to procure Triumphs for another at the hazard of his own Life, ſends Ambaſſadors to *Bocchus*, to caution him, how he quarrell'd with the People of *Rome*, without any provocation: That now he had a fair Opportunity to obtain the League and Alliance which he had before deſir'd, and which would be far more advantageous to him then War: That though he might rely upon his great Power, yet 'twas not the ſafeſt way to hazard Certainties for Uncertainties; That a War was eaſily begun, but not ſo ſoon ended; That the Beginning and Concluſion of it were not at the diſpoſal of the ſame Perſon; That any Coward might

might begin a War, but the End of it was at the pleasure of the Victor only; and therefore that he should consult his own, and the welfare of his Kingdom, and not adventure his flourishing Prosperity in the same Bottom with *Jugurth*'s Misfortunes. To which the King in mild and gentle Terms return'd for Answer, That Peace was his desire, only he pity'd the miserable Condition of *Jugurth*; so that if he might be included in the Articles, all things would be soon concluded. Again the General in Answer to *Bocchus*'s Demands, sends other Commissioners; some things he approv'd, others he refus'd; and thus by sending to and fro, Time wasted, and the War was spun out without a Blow struck, to the great satisfaction of *Metellus*.

84. But *Marius*, as I said before, being made *Consul* by the vehemency & tumultuous Affection of the Commonalty, so soon as the People had commanded him to undertake the Province of *Numidia*, if before he hated the Nobility, now he began to shew himself much more fierce and domineering; sometimes affronting particular Persons, sometimes all in general;

ral; boasting that he had carry'd the Consulship from *Them*, as the Spoyls of a Conquer'd Enemy; casting forth many other Expressions, great of himself, but full of bitter Sarcasms in derision of their Honour. In the mean time his chiefest Care was to make ample provisions of all things needful for the War, to require a Re-inforcement of the Legions; to demand Ayd of all the Neighbouring Princes and People in Alliance with the *Romans*; to cull out of *Latium* all the stoutest persons he could pick, most known to himself in particular Services, few by Report; and by fair Words and Promises to procure all the old Souldiers that had been discharg'd upon the score of Age and long Service, to resume their Arms, and accompany him in the Expedition. Nor durst the *Senate*, though they mortally hated his Demeanor, contradict him in any thing; but joyfully decreed him all Supplies, whatever he demanded, in hopes that the Commonalty when they came to be prest'd, would refuse to serve, and so that *Marius* would lose the Fruits of the War, or the Affections of the Vulgar. But it fell out quite otherwise. For such an eager desire of going with *Marius*, had

had poſſeſs'd the greateſt part, while every man believ'd he ſhould return enrich'd with Plunder, and victorious home, that theſe Conſiderations and Expectancies dragg'd them headlong after the *Conſul*; beſides that, *Marius* did not a little enflame their Courages with a ſet Speech. For after all his Demands were decreed him according to his hearts deſire, and he had compleated his Muſters, as well to curry Favour with the Commons, as to fret and gall the Nobility, he ſummon'd an Aſſembly of the People, where he thus deliver'd himſelf.

'I am well aſſur'd, moſt worthy *Romans*, that moſt men do not obſerve the 'ſame Method in procuring Places of 'higheſt Truſt at your Hands; or manage 'em after the ſame manner when obtain'd. For firſt, they are induſtrious, 'humble and moderate; then waſte their 'days in Sloth and Pride; but I am of 'another humour. For by how much 'the whole Commonwealth is of greater 'value then a Conſulſhip, or Prætorſhip, 'with ſo much the greater Care ought 'the one to be govern'd, then the other 'eagerly ſu'd for. Nor am I ignorant

'how

'how great a burden I bear upon my
'Shoulders through your obliging favour.
'To provide for War, to be frugal of
'the public Treaſury, to compel thoſe to
'bear Arms, whom you are unwilling to
'offend, to have an Eye upon all things
'both at home and abroad; and to diſ-
'charge all theſe duties among ſo many
'envious, thwarting, and factious Spirits,
'is a task, moſt worthy *Romans*, far more
'difficult, then moſt men are aware of.
'Nevertheleſs if others miſcarry or com-
'mit any foul Miſdemeanor, the Anti-
'quity of their Deſcent, the famous Ex-
'ploits of their Anceſtors, the Wealth
'of their Kindred and Relations, multi-
'tude of Tenants and Followers, all theſe
'things are their Security and Protection,
'while my Relyance is only upon my ſelf:
'ſo that of neceſſity I muſt ſupport my ſelf
'by my Valour and my Innocency; ſince
'all other Dependances of mine are weak
'and inconſiderable: And this I likewiſe
'underſtand, moſt worthy *Romans*, that
'the Eyes of all Men are fix'd upon me;
'that good and juſt Men love me; as
'one whoſe Actions have tended to the
'good of the Public benefit; only the
'Nobility ly at lurch to procure my diſ-

'grace. For which reaſon it behoves me 'the more induſtriouſly to labour, that 'you be not deceiv'd, and that They may 'be diſappointed. From my Childhood 'until now, I have hitherto ſo liv'd, as to 'be inur'd to all ſorts of Hardſhip and 'all manner of dangers. What before your 'favours beſtow'd, I acted *gratis*, 'tis not 'my deſign, moſt worthy *Romans*, now to 'forego, as having receiv'd my wages. 'Tis 'a difficult Thing for ſuch Men to tempt 'their paſſions in great Authority, who on-'ly to advance Ambitious ends diſſembl'd 'Honeſty: but in Me, that have always 'lead my Life in vertuous Exerciſes, to 'do good is now by Cuſtom become a 'ſecond Nature. You have commanded 'me to wage War with *Jugurth*, a thing 'which the Nobility took moſt hainouſly. 'I beſeech you to conſider with your 'ſelves, whether you think it proper to 'alter your Reſolutions, or to ſend ſome 'one cull'd out from this ſame Croud of 'Nobility, a Perſon of ancient Deſcent; 'a Perſon whoſe Family is honour'd with 'many Statues, but himſelf a Man of no 'Conduct or Experience; ſuch a one 'as being ignorant what he has to do 'in ſuch a weighty undertaking, ſhall tremble,

'tremble, make a buſtle, and at length chuſe 'out ſome paltry Confident, to be his In-'ſtructor and Adviſer. For ſo it generally 'falls out, that He whom you have or-'der'd to Command, is to ſeek for ano-'ther to command himſelf. Yet I could 'tell you of ſome Men, moſt worthy *Ro-'mans*, who after they have been choſen 'Conſuls, have then began to ſtudy the 'Actions of their Anceſtors, and the Mi-'litary Precepts of the *Greeks*: Prepoſter-'ous People. For the knowledge of Go-'vernment in time ſucceeds Election, but 'in reality and practice ought to precede 'it. Compare me now, moſt worthy *Ro-'mans*, an Upſtart of Yeſterday, with 'their preſumptuous Pride. What they 'are wont to hear and read, part of theſe 'things my ſelf has ſeen, and others per-'ſonally perform'd: what they have 'learnt from their Books, the ſame have 'I by Military duty. They contemn my 'ſuddain Riſe; and I their Cowardice. 'They upbraid me with my Fortune, I 'them, with their Enormities. Though 'I believe one Nature common to us all, 'Yet I eſteem the ſtouteſt to be ſtill 'moſt Generous and Noble. So that if the 'Queſtion could be put to the Anceſtors of

'*Albinus*, or *Beſtia*, which they would have
'rather choſen for their Off-ſpring me or
'them, what think ye would be their
'Anſwer, but that they deſir'd the beſt of
'Children? Therefore while they debaſe
'Me, they throw the ſame Contempt up-
'on their Anceſtors; who rais'd their
'Original Nobility, like my ſelf, by their
'Vertues. They envy my Honour;
'let 'em alſo envy my Innocency, the
'Hardſhip and the Dangers I have under-
'gone. But Men corrupted with Pride,
'ſo lead their Lives, as if they diſdain'd
'your Honours; but ſue for 'em, as Per-
'ſons that had always liv'd uprightly
'and juſtly. Certainly they are miſtak'n,
'who expect at the ſame time to enjoy two
'ſuch contrary ſatisfactions, the delights
'and pleaſures of ſloathful Eaſe, and the re-
'wards of Vertue. And when they make
'Speeches either to your ſelves or in the
'Senate, ſpend the greateſt part of their
'Time in magnifying their Anceſtors,
'believing themſelves the more famous
'for repeating their loud Atchievements;
'whereas quite the contrary, the more
'Illuſtrious was their Renown, the more
'ſordid and degenerate are they. For to
'ſay truth, the Renown of Anceſtors is

a Light

'a Light that ſhines upon their Poſterity,
'and ſuffers not their Evil deeds to be ob-
'ſcur'd in Darkneſs. This is a thing I
'want, moſt worthy *Romans*; but that
'which is more noble, I can ſpeak of my
'own Actions to my ſelf. Now conſider,
'how unjuſt they are. What they arro-
'gate to themſelves from the Vertue
'of others, they will not allow me for
'the ſake of my own: becauſe forſooth
'I have no Statues, becauſe my Nobility
'is but of Yeſterday; which certainly is
'more worthy for me to have won, then
'for them to have corrupted. I am not ig-
'norant, that were they now to anſwer me,
'they have Eloquence enough, and would
'be flouriſhing with their lofty ſtrains
'and high flying Language. But under-
'ſtanding how in all places, for this your
'favour conferr'd upon me, they wound
'and tear both mine and your Reputa-
'tion, I could not refrain ſpeaking my
'mind; leaſt any one ſhould traduce my
'Modeſty as an effect of Guilt. Though
'in my Opinion, theſe Orations can do me
'no prejudice. For if true, they muſt ſpeak
'well of me; if falſe, my Life and Man-
'ners evince the contrary. But becauſe your
'Conſultations and Decrees are accus'd,

'becauſe you have vouchſaf'd me the 'higheſt Honour, and the moſt im-'portant of all our preſent Affairs; I be-'ſeech ye conſider over and over again, 'whether you have any cauſe to repent. 'Tis true, I cannot, as a ſecurity and pledge 'for my worth, produce the Statues, or 'Records of the Triumphs and Conſul-'ſhips of my Anceſtors: but if need re-'quire, I can ſhew ye Spears, Enſigns * Gold Chains, and other ſuch like Military guerdons, beſides ſeveral Scars in my 'Body. Theſe are my 'Statues, this is my Nobility, not left, 'but which I have purchas'd by Inhe-'ritance, with many hardſhips and dan-'gers. My words perhaps are not 'ſo Elaborately ſtudied: That I value 'not. Vertue ſufficiently diſplays it ſelf; 'but words want artifice to fucus over 'vile and ſhameful Actions. Neither did 'I ever learn *Greek*. For I had no deſire 'to learn a Language that ſo little contri-'buted to reform the Vices of thoſe that 'had it ſo readily at their Tongues end. 'But I am learned in thoſe things that 'are much more beneficial to the Com-monwealth;

* The reward of a Horſeman, that diſmounted his Adverſary.

'monwealth; I know how to fight an 'Enemy, to take Towns, to fear nothing 'but Infamy; to endure cold and heat; 'to lie upon the Ground; and at the ſame 'time to undergo both want and labour. 'This Learning alſo I ſhall teach the 'Souldiers: neither ſhall I harraſs them 'with hard and continual Duty, and yet 'indulge my Self: neither will I purchaſe 'my Honour by their Labour. This is 'a profitable and civil Government. 'Whereas to live in eaſe, and wallow in 'Effeminacy thy ſelf, and terrify thy Ar-'my with continual rigor, this is to play 'the Tyrant not the General. By theſe 'Actions and ſuch as theſe, your Anceſtors 'immortalliz'd both themſelves and the 'Commonwealth. On which the Nobi-'lity relying, though far different in their 'Manners, deſpiſe Us, with emulation 'tracing their renowned ſteps; and claim 'from you all Honours as their due and 'not by merit: But their lofty Lordſhips 'are very much out of the way. Their An-'ceſtors left 'em all things that were with-'in their Power, Wealth, Statues, Pedi-'grees and undying Memories, but they 'did not leave 'em Vertue, neither could 'they. That, is a gift neither to be given

'or receiv'd. They ſay I am a Slovenly 'fellow, and one that wants Breeding; be-'cauſe I know not how to inſtruct a Bill 'of Fare; maintain no Buffoons and Za-'nies about me, nor give more Money 'for a Cook then I do for a Bavly: all 'which I muſt confeſs, moſt worthy *Ro-'mans*. For I have been taught by my 'Father and other venerable Perſons that 'nicity and ſpruceneſs belong to Wo-'men; but that toyl and labour better 'become Manhood: and that all Heroic 'and generous Spirits, ought to value 'Fame above Wealth, and take a greater 'pride in their Arms then in their Houſe-'hold Furniture. Therefore let 'em al-'ways follow their Pleaſures and Delights; 'let 'em keep their Miſſes, let 'em Drink 'and Revel; as they ſpent their Youth, 'ſo let 'em employ their old Age in Ban-'quets and Riot, devoted to their Bellies; 'and the moſt ſhameful part of their Bo-'dies; let 'em leave Sweat and Duſt, 'Induſtry and Toyl to Us, that prefer 'thoſe hardſhips far before the effeminacy 'of Junketting. But that they will not 'do: For when unworthy Bruits as they 'are, they have diſhonour'd themſelves, 'with all manner of Debauchery, nothing

'will

'will satisfy 'em but the Rewards of the 'Brave and Vertuous. So that Luxury 'and Sloth, the worst of evils never pre-'judice their Adorers, which is a great 'piece of Injustice, but frequently prove 'baneful to the Commonwealth. Now then 'having as far as my own Modesty would 'permit me, though not in so many words 'as the heinousness of their abuses re-'quir'd, made answer to the objections of 'the Nobility; give me leave to speak 'somewhat concerning the State of the 'Common-wealth. In the first place, most 'worthy *Romans*, hope well of *Numidia*; 'You have now remov'd all those things 'which hitherto protected *Jugurth*, Ava-'rice, ill Conduct and Pride. Then you 'have an Army there that understands 'the Country; but however more Stout 'then Fortunate. For the greatest part of 'em have been very much harrass'd 'through the Covetuousness and Rashness 'of their Captains. And therefore all you 'that are arriv'd at Souldiers Age, la-'bour with me, take the Common-wealth 'into your own hands, and let no Man 'be discourag'd at the Calamity of o-'thers, or the foolish Pride of preceeding 'Generals. I shall be as well your Com-

'panion

'panion in danger, as your Counſellor in 'all your Marches and Battels, and take 'the ſame care of you as of my ſelf. 'Nay, by the Aſſiſtance of the Gods, I 'make no queſtion, but all things are al-'ready ripe for us to ſhare, Victory, Booty, 'Honour: which though they were doubt-'ful or remotely diſtant from our ex-'pectations; yet it behov'd all good 'Men to ſuccour the Commonwealth. 'For never Sloth rais'd any Man to Im-'mortality: neither did ever any Parent 'wiſh, that his Children might live eter-'nally, only that they might live a ver-'tuous and honeſt Life. I would ſay more, 'moſt worthy *Romans*, were it in the 'Power of words to inſpire the Timerous 'with Valour; for to the ſtrenuous, I 'think I have already ſaid enough.

86. This Oration thus Concluded, finding the People all in fury and mad to be at work, with all imaginable ſpeed he puts his Proviſion, Money and other neceſſaries aboard, and with theſe Preparations ſends away *Aulus Manlius* before. In the mean time he falls to liſting Souldiers, not according to the antient Cuſtom, out of the ſeveral Ranks and Degrees

grees of the People, but only Volunteers, and ſuch as paid neither Scot nor Lot to the Commonwealth. Which way of proceeding, ſome imputed to the want of able Souldiers, others to the Ambition of the Conſul, becauſe he was cry'd up, and advanc'd by that ſort of People: for to a Man that aſpires to Power and Command, the more indigent are ſtill the fitteſt Inſtruments upon ſeveral occaſions; in regard they have nothing to care for of their own, and therefore look upon all things to be juſt and honeſt, by which there is any thing to be got. *Marius* therefore, putting to Sea, with ſomething a larger Number then was Decreed him, landed in a few days at *Utica*. The Army is deliver'd over into his hands by *P. Rutilius* the Legate. For *Metellus* avoided the ſight of *Marius*, that he might not ſee thoſe things which he could not endure to hear.

87. But the *Conſul* having recruited the Legions and auxiliary Cohorts, marches into a fruitful Country, where he might be ſure to find Booty enough. There he gave all the Pillage to the Souldiers. This done, he takes in all the Caſtles and Towns that were but ſlightly fortify'd either by Art

Art or Nature, and leaſt able to make defence, and has ſeveral ſlight Skirmiſhes with the Enemy, ſome in one place, ſome in another: and all the while he order'd the raw Souldiers to ſtand and look on; to behold the Routed kill'd or taken; and thereby taught 'em how the moſt Valiant were ſtill in moſt Safety; That the Sword was the only Protection of their Country, their Liberties, their Wives and Children: and how Honour, not Riches, was the nobleſt Aim. Thus in a ſhort time both Raw and Veteranes became all one, and the Courage of all was equally alike. But the Two Kings, when they underſtood of *Marius*'s arrival, retir'd ſeveral ways into the Faſtneſſes of the Country. This was *Jugurth*'s Deſign, in hopes that the *Romans* might be ſurpriz'd ſo ſoon as they thought themſelves a little more ſecure. For that the *Romans*, like moſt other People, grew careleſs and remiſs in their Guards, when once their Fears were over.

88. In the mean time *Metellus* arriving at *Rome*, contrary to his Expectations, was joyfully receiv'd: and ſo ſoon as once their Paſſion was over, equally beloy'd as well

well by the People as by the Senate. But *Marius* indefatigably and with extraordinary Prudence minded both his own Buſineſs, and the Motions of the Enemy: he was ſtill conſidering what was advantageous, what was prejudicial to both: he had his Spies continually abroad to obſerve the Marches of the Kings; thereby to prevent their Deſigns and Ambuſcadoes; ſuffering no remiſneſs in his own, nor any ſecurity in the Army of his Enemy. By which means he often met in his Marches with the *Getulians* and *Jugurth* ravaging the Territories of our Allies, whom he aſſoon defeated, and not far from *Cirta*, forc'd the King himſelf to leave his Arms behind him. Which being only brave Exploits, but no way conducing to the Concluſion of the War, he determin'd to beſiege all ſuch Towns as either thro' the ſtrength of the Garriſon, or the ſituation of the Place were of importance to the Enemy, and prejudicial to the *Romans*. By which means *Jugurth* muſt be deſpoyled of all his Garriſons if he lay ſtill, or elſe muſt come to a Battel. For *Bocchus* had often ſent him word that he was for his part deſirous of a League and Friendſhip with the *Romans*;

and

and that he ſhould not need to fear any thing of Hoſtility at his hands. But whether he diſſembled in this particular, to the end his unexpected Onſet might give the greater Blow, or whether out of natural inſtability of Mind, it were his Cuſtom to make frequent Exchanges of War and Peace, could never be certainly known.

89. The *Conſul* however, according to his Determination, viſits all the Towns and ſtrong Holds: ſome he takes by force, ſome through fear ſurrender; and others upon the Offers of large Rewards ſet open their Gates. At firſt he dealt with thoſe that were leſs conſiderable, hoping that *Jugurth*, coming to the Reſcue of his Subjects, would give him the opportunity of a Battel. But underſtanding that he was gone a great way off, and buſily intent upon other Affairs, he thought it time to beſtir himſelf in greater and more difficult Enterprizes. On the other ſide of the Country, beyond ſeveral wide and ſpacious Deſarts, lay a large and ſtrong Town by name * *Capſa*; Of which the *Libyan Hercules* is ſaid to have been the Founder. The Inhabitants

* Now *Capi*, lying not far from the Bay call'd *Golfo di Capes.*

bitants enjoy'd great Privileges under *Jugurth*, free from Taxes, and therefore moſt faithful to him: being not only guarded by their Walls and a ſtrong Garriſon, well furniſh'd with all ſort of warlike Ammunition; but much more by the difficult ſituation of the Place. For excepting thoſe Fields and Paſtures that lay round about the Town, all the Country round about lay barren, deſart, and unmanur'd, wanting Water, and much infeſted with Serpents; whoſe Fury, like that of all other Creatures, is the more exaſperated through ſcarcity of Food; beſides that, the pernicious Nature of thoſe Serpents is by nothing more provoked then by Drought. *Marius* was inflam'd with an eager deſire to take this Town, as well for the Service of the War, as for the Difficulty of the Enterprize: beſides that *Metellus*, highly to his Honour, had won the City of *Thala*, not much unlike this Place, both for Strength and Situation; only that not far from the Walls of *Thala* there were ſeveral Springs: They of *Capſa* had but only one Well of Fountain-Water; all the Out-parts ſupply'd themſelves as the Rain happen'd to fall. Which both there, and

in

in all *Africa*, that lies remote from the Sea, and more uncultivated, is the more eaſily endur'd, for that the *Numidians* for the moſt part feed upon Milk and the Fleſh of wild Beaſts, wanting neither Salt, nor any other Sawces to whet their Appetites. Their Diet only ſerv'd 'em to prevent Hunger and Thirſt, not for Luxury, nor yet to pleaſe their Palats.

90. The *Conſul* therefore having made a full Enquiry into every thing, relying certainly upon the Favour of the Gods; (for humane Wiſdom could never provide againſt ſo many Difficulties; eſpecially there being but ſmall ſtore of Corn in thoſe parts, in regard the *Numidians* delight more in Paſturage then Tillage, and what they had upon the Ground, by the King's Order was ſecur'd in their ſtrong Holds; beſides that, the Fields were at that ſeaſon parch'd up, without any Crop at all, for it was toward the latter end of Summer) however he makes ſufficient Proviſion out of that Plenty which he had; ordering the Auxiliary Horſe to drive before 'em all the Cattel, which they had made Booty of upon their laſt Incurſions. *A. Manlius* the Legate, he commands to march with the Light-

Light-Armed Cohorts to *Laris*, where he had ſecur'd his Money for the Souldiers Pay, and his Proviſions, giving out that he would march that way himſelf within a few days, and meet him there. And thus concealing his Deſign, he ſets forward, directly for the River *Tana*.

91. Upon his March, he made an equal diſtribution of his Cattel among the Souldiers, ſo much to the Foot, and ſo much to the Horſe: of the Hides he caus'd Bottles or Water-Bags to be made. This he did, no man knowing his Deſign, to prevent the waſte of Corn, which was to ſtand him afterwards in ſtead. Upon the ſixth day, by that time he came to the River, he had an infinite number of Water-Bags ready made. There pitching his Tents, and ſlightly fortifying his Camp, he order'd his Souldiers to their Repaſt, and commands 'em to be ready to march ſo ſoon as the Sun began to ſet, leaving all their Baggage behind, only loading themſelves and their Beaſts of Carriage with Water. Then at his time appointed he ſets forward, and having march'd all Night, he makes a Halt all the next day. Thus he did the ſecond Night; and the

third Night, long before Day-Break, he came to a Place full of Hillocks, not above two Miles distant from the Town; where, as privately as he could, he lay close with all his Army. But in the Morning, when the *Numidians*, least dreaming of an Enemy, began to stir abroad about their Occasions, he commands all the Cavalry, and the swiftest of his Foot to fly to the Town, and seize the Gates. Immediately he himself follow'd, strictly commanding the Souldiers to refrain from Pillage. Which when the Townsmen perceiv'd, their dangerous Condition, unspeakable Consternation, Calamity unlookt for, and besides all this, a great part of the Inhabitants without the walls, in the power of the Enemy, constrain'd 'em to a speedy Surrender. Nevertheless the Town was laid in Ashes, & the *Numidian* Youth were put to the Sword; all others sold, and the Booty divided among the Souldiers. Which severe Act of the *Consul's*, against the Law of Arms, neither his Avarice, nor his Cruelty urg'd him to commit. But because so strong a Place that lay so necessary and convenient for *Jugurth*, was no less difficult of Access to the *Romans*: the People fickle and perfidious,

fidious, neither to be curb'd by Fear, nor kept in Obedience by mild Uſage.

92. *Marius* having thus perform'd an Exploit ſo conſiderable without any loſs of his own Men, as he was great, and in high Repute before, ſo was he now ten times greater, and more famous then ever. Not only what he acted with Prudence and Foreſight, but whatever prov'd by Fortune ſucceſsful, was all aſcrib'd to his Vertue and Conduct. The Souldiers under gentle Command, and enrich'd withal, extoll'd him to the Skies: the *Numidians* dreaded him as if more then Humane: in a word, both *Allies* and *Enemies* believ'd, that either he was inſpir'd with a Divine Foreſight, or elſe, that he acted altogether by the immediate Aſſiſtance of the Gods. The *Conſul* therefore upon this Succeſs, haſtens to ſeveral other Towns; of which, ſome he takes after a ſmall Reſiſtance of the *Numidians*: others he finds deſerted by the Inhabitants, dreading the ſad Fate of the *Capſenſians*, all which he lays in Aſhes: nothing but Slaughter and Lamentation over the whole Country. Thus having made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Places, and moſt

without the Loſs of any *Roman* Blood, he undertakes another Enterprize, not ſo toilſom as that of *Capſa*, yet no leſs difficult. Not far from the River *Mulucha*, which ſeparates the two Kingdoms of *Jugurth* and *Bocchus*, ſtands a Rocky Mountain, of a prodigious height, in the midſt of a large Plain, upon the Top of which, where there was Space enough, ſtood an indifferent Caſtle; to which there was but one, and that a very narrow Aſcent. For every way elſe it was by Nature ſo perpendicularly ſteep, as if it had been the Labour of Art and Induſtry. Which Caſtle, becauſe it was one of the Places where the King's Treaſure lay, *Marius* reſolves to win, whatever it coſt him. But here his Fortune befriended him above his Conduct: For the Caſtle was furniſht with a ſtrong Garriſon, and all manner of warlike Ammunition and Proviſions, a Fountain of Water, but no way aſſailable by the help either of Bulwarks or Towers, and as it were, ſtanding in defiance of all ſorts of Engins whatever: beſides, the Paſſage to it was narrow and ſteep on both ſides. The *Vines* by which we make our Approaches, were brought and ſet up with vaſt Labour and Danger; for no ſooner

ſooner were they rais'd to ſomething of perfection, but they were preſently deſtroy'd with Fire and Stones. The Souldiers could neither ſtand to their Labour, by reaſon of the ſteepneſs of the Place; nor work ſecure under the covertures; they that were moſt forward and couragious, were ſlain or wounded, others were diſmay'd and diſcourag'd.

93. *Marius* therefore after the Toyl and Labour of many days conſum'd in vain, perplex'd and penſive, began to conſider whether he ſhould draw off, or wait a favourable opportunity, ſince his Fortune had been hitherto ſo proſperous. Which while he was pondering for ſeveral days and Nights together, chaf'd and fuming in his Mind, by chance a certain *Ligurian* common Souldier in the Auxiliary Cohorts, going out of the Camp to fetch water, not far from that ſide of the Caſtle which was oppoſite to that part where the Aſſaults and Defences were made, ſpy'd ſeveral Periwinkles creeping among the Rocks. Of which when he had taſted one or two, deſirous to have more, he was got up by degrees, ere he knew where he was, to the top of the

Rock; where obſerving nothing but Silence and Solitude, after the cuſtom of humane Curioſity, deſirous to ſee what he never had ſeen before, he ſtands and liſtens. By chance there grew in the ſame place a Holm-Tree, which had made its way through the Stones, ſtooping forward at firſt, then winding back, and ſhooting up to a conſiderable heighth, as it is the Nature of all Vegetables. By the help of whoſe Boughs, and the Stones jutting out from the Wall, the *Ligurian* clamber'd ſo high, that he diſcover'd the whole Platform of the Caſtle, and perceiv'd how the Defendants were all buſily employ'd where the Aſſailants forc'd 'em to make Reſiſtance. After he had thus taken a ſufficient view of all things that he thought requiſite, he returns the ſame way he got up, not in haſte, but leiſurely obſerving and taking notice of every Particular conducing to his purpoſe. This done, away he comes to *Marius*, informs him of the Accident, and adviſes him to attempt the Caſtle on that ſide; and promiſes to lead the way, and be formoſt in the Danger. Immediately *Marius* ſends away with the *Ligurian* ſome of thoſe that were then preſent, to examin the Truth of his Information;

mation; who, according to their ſeveral Fancies, upon their Return, reported the Enterprize, ſome to be eaſie; others, difficult. However, the *Conſul* began to pluck up a good heart; and liking the Deſign, picks out of all his Trumpets and Cornets, five of the nimbleſt and moſt active he could meet with; and appoints 'em for their Guard four Centurions with their Companies, commanding 'em to follow the *Ligurian*'s Inſtructions: and appoints the next day to put the Enterprize in execution. And now the time appointed being come, and all things fix'd, away they go to the Place: at what time the Centurions, according to the Directions of their Guide, chang'd both their Arms and their Apparel, and went with their Heads and Feet bare; to the end they might the better look about 'em, and clamber with more eaſe. Their Swords and their Targets, which after the *Numidian* Faſhion, were of Leather, as well for Lightneſs, as to prevent their ringing againſt the Stones, they ty'd at their Backs. The *Ligurian* alſo clambering formoſt, faſten'd Ropes to the Stones and Stumps of Trees and Shrubs that grew about the Rock, for the Souldiers to

eaſe themſelves in climbing: others that were not ſo well vers'd at the ſport, he pull'd up by the Hand; and where the Aſcent was more ſteep then ordinary, he order'd 'em to climb without their Arms, and carry'd their Arms after 'em. Thoſe Places which ſeem'd moſt difficult and dangerous he chiefly try'd; and by often aſcending and deſcending the ſame way, then by and by giving room, and ſtepping to another place, he encourag'd the reſt. At length long and very much tir'd, they got to the Caſtle, as it were abandon'd on that ſide; for that all the Garriſon, as at other times, were facing the Enemy. *Marius*, when he underſtood what Progreſs the *Ligurian* had made, though he had ply'd the *Numidians* all that day, yet then encouraging his Souldiers, appearing formoſt himſelf without the Approaches, & running under the **Teſtudo*, againſt the Wall, not only ſhook the Foundations below, but with his

* The *Teſtudo* was when a Body of Souldiers ſerri'd to their cloſe Order, & ſtooping with their Bodies, cover'd their Backs with their Shields, to bear off the Stones and other Inſtruments of Miſchief that were thrown upon 'em: and then mov'd forward under that ſhelter like a Tortoiſe in her Shell.

Slings,

Slings, and other Missive Engines, kept the Enemy hard at work above. On the other side, the *Numidians* having often burnt and destroy'd the *Roman Vines*, were grown so hardy, that as if they had no need of Walls, they would frequently in the day-time leap over the Battlements upon the Rock, and standing there, defy the *Romans*, call *Marius* Coward in his own hearing, and threaten the Souldiers to make 'em *Jugurth*'s Slaves, with all the Bravado's of prosperous Insolence imaginable. At last, while Assailants and Defendants were eagerly exasperated in fight, the one contending for Conquest and Honour, the other for Safety of their Lives, on a sudden the Trumpets and Cornets began to sound behind their Backs; and first the Women and Children that came to be Spectators of their Husbands and their Fathers Manhood; then such as were next the Walls, and lastly, the whole Company, as well those that were arm'd, as those that had none, betook themselves to flight. Which the *Romans* observing, charg'd more furiously with their Slings and Engines, some they wounded, others they slew, and made Steps of their dead Bodies out of eagerness to ascend the wall:

neither

neither was there any one that made a ſtop for greedineſs of Spoyl. Thus Fortune found a *Salvo* for the Raſhneſs of *Marius*, and procur'd him Honour from the Errour of his Conduct.

95. In the heat of this Action, *L. Sylla* the *Queſtor*, arriv'd at the Camp, with a great Body of Cavalry, which he was left at *Rome* to raiſe in *Latium*, and among the Confederate Allies. Now therefore ſince the opportunity puts us in mind of ſo great a Perſonage, it will not be amiſs, briefly to ſay ſomething of his Conditions and Education. For we ſhall have no occaſion in any other place to make any farther mention of his Actions. Beſides that *L. Siſenna*, who of all others that have written of him, has with greateſt Induſtry and Fidelity purſu'd his Hiſtory, ſeems to have been too ſparing of his Commendations. *Sylla* therefore, was deſcended from a Noble Patrician Family, but gone to decay, and near extinct, through the Sloth of his Anceſtors. He was equally skill'd and accompliſh'd both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Learning; of a lofty Courage, addicted to his Pleaſures, but more greedy of Honour; luxurious

at

at his vacant hours, yet his Pleaſure never took him off from Buſineſs; only he might have better conſulted his Reputation in the choice of a * Wife. He was eloquent, ſubtil, nothing coy of his Friendſhip, but eaſily familiar; but for diſſimulation, and diſguiſing his own Thoughts, the Depth of his Wit was incredible: liberal in his Gifts, but eſpecially of his Money. Before the Civil War, the moſt happy Perſon living, his Fortune never ſurmounted his Induſtry; ſo that it was a Queſtion which many could never decide, Whether he were more Fortunate or Vertuous. For as for his latter Actions, I am at a loſs whether to repeat 'em with greater Grief, or greater Shame.

* For he marry'd *Valeria*, one that over-wantonly courted him in the publick Theater.

96. *Sylla* therefore when he arriv'd in *Africa*, and came once to be converſant in *Marius*'s Camp, in a ſhort time prov'd to be one of the moſt ſedulous and expert of all the *Roman* Commanders. Moreover, he treated the Souldiers affably and kindly: liberal to many that ask'd him, to others of his own accord: in thoſe things much

much more forward and willing then to pay his own Debts. He never demanded whatever he lent: making it his Study, rather that others ſhould be beholding to him. His Cuſtom was to jeſt and be merry, and ſometimes to be ſerious with the meaneſt. He lov'd to be preſent with the Souldiers in all their Duties of working, marching and watching: neither would he all the while, according to the Cuſtom of deprav'd Ambition, ſpeak ill either of the *Conſul*, or any other Perſon. Neither in Direction or Execution of any Orders, would he ſuffer any man to be before him, but was generally the formoſt himſelf. And theſe were the Ways and Means by which he endear'd himſelf both to *Marius* and won the Affections of the Souldiers.

97. In the mean time *Jugurth*, after he had loſt *Capſa*, and ſeveral other Towns, ſtrongly fortify'd and of great importance to his Affairs, beſides a vaſt Treaſure, ſent Meſſengers to *Bocchus*, to haſten his Army into *Numidia*; for that now was the Time to decide the Controverſie by Battel one way or other. But when he perceiv'd him to procraſtinate and ſpin out the

the time, then full of doubts, he began to conſider the Advantages of Peace and War; and as before, renew'd his former Practices of Bribing his chiefeſt Favourites. He alſo promiſes the *Moor* himſelf a Third Part of *Numidia*, upon Condition the *Romans* were either chac'd out of *Africa*, or that the War were ſo concluded, that he might enjoy the full extent of his Kingdom. With this Temptation *Bocchus* allur'd, haſtens to *Jugurth* with a numerous Power of Men. Thus the two Armies being joyn'd, as *Marius* was Marching to his Winter Quarters, about what time, ſcarce the tenth part of the day remained behind, they fell on furiouſly, believing the approaching Night, would be to them a Security were they overthrown; or if the Victors, could be no Impediment, becauſe they were well acquainted with the Country: on the other ſide aſſuring themſelves, that whether Victors or vanquiſh'd, the dark Night would be equally troubleſome to the *Romans*. So that the Enemy was upon him ere the Conſul had Intelligence of the approach of the Army; and before the Legions could be Embattell'd, or the Baggage diſpos'd of and ſecur'd; before he had time to give the Signal,

Signal, or give out his Orders, the *Moors* and *Getulian* Cavalry had charg'd our Men, not rang'd in order, nor drawn up in warlike maner, but at a venture in ſingle Troops and ſcattering Parties. The *Romans* thus ſurpriz'd with ſuddain Fear, and unprovided, yet calling to mind their wonted Valour, ſome betook themſelves to their Arms, others defended their fellows while they made themſelves ready: The Cavalry mounted, and haſtned to ſtop the Enemies Career; ſo that the Fight lookt rather like a Rancounter of Free-booters then a Battel; obſerving neither Enſigns nor Ranks, Horſe and Foot mix'd one among another; ſome giving ground, others being ſlain: many, while ſtoutly engag'd with their Adverſaries, had the Enemy upon their Backs; neither Valour nor Steel were a ſufficient Protection; for that the Enemy was more numerous, and made their Attacks on every ſide. For remedy whereof the *Romans* as well *Veteranes* as the raw Souldiers being inſtructed by their fellows, as Chance or Place gave them an opportunity, threw themſelves into Oval Bodies, and ſo facing the Enemy every way ſubſtain'd their Fury with a much more ſafe reſiſtance.

ſiſtance. All this while, *Marius*, thus hard put to it, was nothing at all dejected, nor ſhew'd the leaſt ſign of fear more then at any other time; but with his own Life-guard which he had made choice of, not for favour but for their Bravery and Stoutneſs, flew from one place to another, relieving thoſe that were over power'd, and ſometimes charging the Thickeſt of the Enemy, inſtructing 'em by acts of perſonal Examples; ſince as a General all Commands were vain in ſuch a terrible Confuſion. And now by this the day was well nigh ſpent, and yet the Enemy abated nothing of their Fury, but according to *Jugurth*'s inſtructions relying upon the darkneſs of the night, rather preſs'd on more eagerly. When *Marius* taking reſolutions from the neceſſity of his Affairs that he might have a place of Retreate orders his men to take poſſeſſion of two ſmall Hills that lay cloſe adjoyning one to another. Upon the leaſt of theſe Hills, which was not ſpacious enough to pitch his Camp, there was a large Fountain of Water; the other more for his purpoſe, for that being high and ſteep, it wanted the leſs fortification. Therefore upon the firſt he commanded *Sylla* to keep a ſtrict Guard with the

the Cavalry all the Night; He himſelf takes care to rally his Men, and to diſingage 'em from among the Enemy who were in no leſs confuſion then the *Romans*. Which done he retreats in a full Body to the ſecond Hill. The two Kings being thus diſcourag'd by the difficulty of the place from making any farther attempts however would not leave the Conſul ſo, but lay all Night ſurrounding both the Hills with their extended Multitude. All the Night long the Enemy made great and many Fires, were merry and jocond, skipp'd and daunc'd about and made ſeveral ſtrange noiſes with their feet and throates, after their Barbarous Cuſtom. The Kings themſelves were pufft up, and full of high thoughts, becauſe they had not been conſtrain'd to fly, but like Victors lay Beſieging the *Romans*. But all theſe things were eaſily deſcernible by the light of the Fires to our Men from the higher ground, and gave them no ſmall encouragement.

99. *Marius* therefore emboldened to ſee the Enemies detect of Diſcipline, commands a moſt exact Silence in his own Camp; not

not ſuffering the Trumpets to ſound upon relieving the Watches, as they were wont to do, but as ſoon as Day began to peep, when the Enemy tyr'd with their Jollity were gone to their repoſe, and all in a profound Sleep, of a ſuddain he cauſes all the Tributary Trumpeters, and all the Trumpeters of the ſeveral Cohorts, Troops and Legions all to ſound together, and the Souldiers at the ſame time with loud ſhouts and Military clamours to rend the Air, and pour out of the Camp upon the Enemy. On the other ſide, the *Moors* and *Getulians*, waken'd with the unuſual and horrid noiſe, could neither fly, nor ſtand to their Arms; neither reſolve nor prevent. In ſuch a manner were they ſtupify'd and har'd with noiſe, clamour, tumult, terrour, fright, amazement, want of ſuccour, and the Inundation of the Enemy: and at length all routed and put to flight; moſt of their Arms and Military Enſigns taken, and more ſlain in that Battel then in all the Encounters before: for being ſcarce awake, and ſcar'd out of their Wits, they had not ſence enough to fly.

100. *Marius* thus a Victor, according to his firſt determination, haſten'd to his

Winter Quarters, which he reſolv'd to take up in the Sea Towns, for the conveniency of Proviſion. Yet in the heighth of his ſucceſs ne'er the more negligent or puff'd up, but as if ſtill the Enemy had been in the field he March'd with his Army divided into four Battalions. Upon the Right-wing *Sylla* lead the Horſe; the Left was guarded by *A. Manlius* with the Slingers and Darters, and a Cohort of *Ligurians*. In the Front and Rear he plac'd the Tribunes with certain Bands of light Armed foot. The Fugitives, as being little valu'd, and exactly acquainted with the Country, were put upon the Forlorns to to obſerve the Motion of the Enemy. The Conſul, confin'd to no Place, as if there had been no other Overſeers but himſelf, had an eye every where, was preſent with all, prais'd or reprov'd according to Deſert. He rode about compleatly arm'd, and made it his buſineſs to keep the Souldiers from ſtragling; no leſs vigilant, then as if he had been upon a March, to fortify his Camp, to ſet the Sentinels to order what Cohorts, what Auxiliary Horſe ſhould be upon the Guard without the Trenches, which to watch upon the Breſt-works, within the Fortifications;

Fortifications; and go the Rounds in Perſon, not ſo much miſtruſting diſobedience of his Commands, but that the Souldiers might be the more willing to endure hardſhip, when they beheld the General himſelf ſo painfully ſharing their laborious Toyl. And indeed *Marius* may be ſaid both then and at other times, during the *Jugurthin* War, to keep his Army in awe rather by ſhame, then ſeverity of Puniſhment, which many attributed to his Ambition; but others more ſoft in their cenſures, aſcrib'd to his being enur'd to Hardſhip from his Cradle, which made him take pleaſure in thoſe things, which others lookt upon as Tribulations. However it were, this is certain, He was no leſs profitable and ſucceſsful to the Commonwealth, then if he had been the ſevereſt Commander in the World.

101. Upon the fourth day, being not far from *Cirta*, the Scouts came all thundering into the Body of the Army: which was a certain ſign the Enemy was at hand. But becauſe they had been all ſeveral ways, and all brought the ſame Intelligence, the Conſul uncertain which way to Embattel his Army, would not

change any thing of his Order, as being already prepar'd to attend the Enemies coming with a Front every way.

By this means he diſappointed *Jugurth*'s Expectations; for having divided his Forces into four Battalions, he made full account, that one or other of the Four, would have an opportunity to fall upon the back of the Enemies. In the mean time *Sylla*, who was firſt Attacqu'd, after ſome few Exhortations to his Men, with ſeveral ſingle Troops, joyning Horſe head to Horſe head, he and ſeveral others, charge the *Moors*: the reſt keeping firm in their Places, cover their Bodies from the Darts, that were flung at a diſtance; and if any of the Enemy came within their reach, he was ſure to pay for his venturing. While the Horſe were thus engag'd, *Bocchus* with the Forces which his Son *Volux* had brought to reinforce his Army, and which were not in the laſt Fight, having ſtay'd by the way, charges the Rear of the *Romans*. Then was *Marius* in the Front, where *Jugurth* found him play with a numerous Body; but the *Numidian*, underſtanding that *Bocchus* had charg'd the *Romans* in the Rear, privately

ly with a ſmall Company conveighs himſelf to the Foot, and their crys out in *Latine*, which he had learnt to ſpeak at *Numantia*, that our Souldiers fought to no purpoſe, for that he had ſlain *Marius* but a little before with his own hand, and at the ſame time brandiſh'd his Sword all beſmear'd with the blood of a Common Trooper, whom after he had long fought him hand to hand, at length he ſlew. Which when the Souldiers heard, they were more aſtoniſh'd at the Cruelty of the Fact, then the Relation of the Meſſenger: at what time the Enemy reſuming freſh Courage, preſs in more eagerly upon the *Romans*. And indeed they were within a very little of betaking themſelves to their Heels, when *Sylla*, returning from the Rout of thoſe which he firſt encounter'd, and charging the *Moors* in Front, put *Bocchus* immediately to flight. As for *Jugurth*, while he labours to ſupport his own Men, and to keep the advantage of a Victory almoſt gain'd, being ſurrounded on every ſide by the Horſe and all his followers ſlain, breaks through the thickeſt of his Enemies alone. *Marius* in the mean time, having put the Horſe to flight, haſtens to the Relief of his own Men, who as he

was told were ready to give ground. But then the Enemy being utterly broken and routed on every ſide, hideous was the Tragic Spectacle that preſented it ſelf over all the Field; Purſuing, flying, killing, taking: many wounded, bleeding, ſtriving and ſtaggering along, till fainting, down they fell: the ſurface of the Earth, as far as you could ſee, all ſtrew'd with Weapons, Arms, and mangl'd Carcaſes; and all the ſpaces between fill'd up with clotted gore.

102. Thus the Conſul after two great Victories obtain'd, arriv'd at *Cirta*: where about five days after the laſt Battel, he was attended by Embaſſadors from *Bocchus*, who in the Name of the King their Maſter, requeſt the General to ſend him two Commiſſioners of his moſt faithful Friends, with whom he had a deſire to treat of ſeveral things that concern'd both his own and the welfare of the *Roman* People. Thereupon the Conſul preſently orders *L. Sylla*, and *A. Manlius* to go along with the Embaſſadors. Theſe Gentlemen though they were ſent for by the King, and ought firſt to have heard his propoſals, yet they were clearly for ſpeaking firſt, either

either to abate his Courage, if they found him incens'd againſt the *Romans*, or elſe render him more plyable to their Conditions, if they perceiv'd him inclinable to Peace. Whereupon *Sylla*, to whoſe Eloquence, not his years, *Manlius* gave the precedency, in few words deliver'd himſelf to this effect.

'King *Bocchus*, more then ordinary has 'been our joy, for that the Gods have 'inſpir'd the Breaſt of ſuch a Man, at 'length rather to make choice of Peace 'then War, nor any longer to contaminate 'thy Dignity, by intermixing Intereſts, 'thy ſelf the beſt of Men with the worſt 'of Caitiffs, *Jugurth*: while we at the ſame 'time are freed from a bitter neceſſity of 'proſecuting as well Thee begui'l'd and 'led aſtray, as Him debauch'd in Villany, Beſides that from the very Infancy of 'their State, the *Romans* have always deem'd 'it much more noble to covet Friends then 'Slaves: as thinking it more ſafe to Rule 'the wilingly ſubmiſſive, then ſuch as they 'conſtrain'd to forc'd Subjection. Nor can 'any Mortal reap a greater benefit from 'our Friendſhip then thy ſelf: as be-'ing in the firſt place far remote: So that

'the occaſions of injury can ſeldom or 'never happen, but the opportunities of mu- 'tual aſſiſtance will be as equally balanc'd 'as if we were near at hand: In the next 'place we have Subjects enow; but nei- 'ther we nor any Potentate living, can 'boaſt to have more friends then are need- 'ful. And I wiſh to Heav'n thou hadſt 'follow'd thoſe determinations at the be- 'ginning; for certainly by this time thou 'hadſt reap'd far greater Advantages 'from the *Roman* People, then hitherto 'thou haſt ſuffer'd prejudice. But in re- 'gard that Fortune governs the greateſt part 'of human Affairs, and ſince it has been 'her Pleaſure, Thou ſhouldſt make tryal 'as well of our Force as of our Favour; 'now, ſince ſhe affords the Opportunity, 'make haſt to embrace it, as thou haſt 'begun, proceed. Thou haſt many and fair 'Advantages, to redeem thy former over- 'ſights by ſucceeding Kindneſſes. Laſtly, 'let this deſcend into thy Breaſt, that 'the *Roman* People were never out-done 'in Gratitude. For what their Courage 'is in War, thou knoweſt thy ſelf.

To this *Bocchus* briefly returns a fair and plauſible Anſwer, in extenuation of his former

former Errors, That he did not take Arms with any Hoſtile deſign, but only to ſecure the Kingdom: for that he could not brook, that Part of *Numidia*, whence *Jugurth* had been expell'd, being his own by right of War, ſhould be laid waſt by *Marius*: beſides that having ſent his Embaſſadors formerly to *Rome*, his friendſhip was rejected; but that now laying aſide all paſt Grudges, with the good liking of *Marius*, he would ſend another Embaſſy to the Senate. But after he had obtain'd leave, the *Barbarian* alter'd his Reſolutions overrul'd by the Importunity of his Friends, whom *Jugurth* underſtanding of *Manlius* and *Sylla*'s being ſent to the King, and miſtruſting their Errand, had Brib'd with great Preſents.

103. *Marius* in the mean while, haing diſpos'd of his Army into their Winter Quarters, with the Light Armed Cohorts, and part of the Cavalry takes a ſwift March toward the Deſarts, to beſige the Royal Tower, where *Jugurth* had plac'd all his Fugitives in Garriſon. And then again it was, that *Bocchus*, either conſidering with himſelf what had befal-

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'the occaſions of injury can ſeldom or 'never happen, but the opportunities of mu-'tual aſſiſtance will be as equally balanc'd 'as if we were near at hand: In the next 'place we have Subjects enow; but nei-'ther we nor any Potentate living, can 'boaſt to have more friends then are need-'ful. And I wiſh to Heav'n thou hadſt 'follow'd thoſe determinations at the be-'ginning; for certainly by this time thou 'hadſt reap'd far greater Advantages 'from the *Roman* People, then hitherto 'thou haſt ſuffer'd prejudice. But in re-'gard that Fortune governs the greateſt part 'of human Affairs, and ſince it has been 'her Pleaſure, Thou ſhouldſt make tryal 'as well of our Force as of our Favour; 'now, ſince ſhe affords the Opportunity, 'make haſt to embrace it, as thou haſt 'begun, proceed. Thou haſt many and fair 'Advantages, to redeem thy former over-'ſights by ſucceeding Kindneſſes. Laſtly, 'let this deſcend into thy Breaſt, that 'the *Roman* People were never out-done 'in Gratitude. For what their Courage 'is in War, thou knoweſt thy ſelf.

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len him in the two laſt Battels, or elſe being better adviſ'd by his Friends and Favourites, whom *Jugurth* had left unbrib'd; or elſe ſcorn'd his Penſions, out of the vaſt variety of his Kindred and Relations, of which he had a numerous Train, he picks five, the moſt Truſty and the moſt able he could make choice of. Theſe he ſends his Embaſſadors firſt to *Marius*, and from thence, if he thought fit, orders likewiſe to go in the ſame Quality to *Rome*: with Plenipotentiary power upon any Terms to put an end to the War, and in all other Matters to act and conclude at their Diſcretion. They make haſt to the Winter Quarters of the *Romans*. But being met upon the Road by certain *Getulian* Free-booters and rob'd of all their Equipage, frighted as they were, and meanly habited, they fly to *Sylla*'s Quarters, whom *Marius* upon his March into the Deſarts, had left *Pretor* in his room.

Theſe Men did *Sylla* treat not as vain and fickle Enemies, but Genteelly and Bountifully ſupply'd their wants. So that the *Barbarians* finding *Sylla* ſo munificent and ſo friendly withal, readily alter'd their Opinion of the *Roman* Avarice. For in thoſe very days many there were

were that underſtood not the reaſon of expenſive Liberality; only a Man was accounted munificent, becauſe his Bounty ſeem'd his voluntary Act, and all Gifts were lookt upon as Retalliations, or in expectation of Kindneſs. Therefore they diſcover *Bocchus*'s Inſtructions to *Sylla*, and withal beſeech him to ſtand both their Friend and their Adviſer. They extol the Strength, the Integrity, and Grandeur of the King their Maſter, not omitting any thing that might be advantageous to their Negotiation, or to gain the good will of the Pretor. Nor did *Sylla* ſcruple to promiſe 'em all Aſſiſtance, but gave 'em full Inſtructions how to manage their Affairs, how to behave themſelves as well toward *Marius*, as before the Lords of the Senate, and thus recruited and directed, they waited about forty days for the Conſuls return.

104. At what time *Marius* not ſucceeding in his Deſign, return'd for *Cirta*; where being inform'd of the arrival of the Embaſſadors, he ſends for them, and *Sylla*, together with *L. Bellienus* the Pretor from *Utica*, as alſo from all other Parts, for all that were of the Senatorian Degree.

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In their preſence he makes known the Commands of *Bocchus* to his Embaſſadors, and gives 'em leave to repair to *Rome*; but in the mean while the Conſul demands a Ceſſation of Arms. Theſe Proceedings were approv'd by *Sylla* and the greateſt Part: ſome few were more hot and furious in their Opinions, ignorant of Human Affairs, which being inconſtant and ſubject to a thouſand Accidents, often alter for the worſe. At length the *Moors* having obtain'd all their deſires, three of 'em ſet forward toward *Rome* with *Octavius Rufo*, who being Treaſurer at War, had brought the Money into *Africa*, which was to pay the Army. The other two return'd back to the King; and gave him an account of their Proceedings; in Concluſion highly magnifying *Sylla*'s great civility and kindneſs. At *Rome*, after the Embaſſadors had ſubmiſſively confeſs'd the Kings overſights, as being lead away by the Inſinuations of *Jugurth*, and humbly deſir'd a League and mutual Amity, the following Anſwer was return'd.

The Senate *and* People *of* Rome *are wont to be no leſs mindful of Kindneſſes then Injuries.*

Injuries. But as for Bocchus, *becauſe they find him Penitent, they pardon his Offence. A League and Friendſhip ſhall be granted him, when he deſerves it.*

Theſe things being made known to *Bocchus*, by Letters he deſires *Marius* to ſend *Sylla* to him, that according to his pleaſure and good liking, there might be a final Concluſion of all differences. Thereupon he was diſpatch'd away with a Guard of Horſe and Foot, the *Balearic* (*a*) Slingers; together with the Archers, and the *Pelignian* Cohort, with their (*b*) Light Arms, for expeditions ſake: with thoſe ſlighter Arms as well defenſive as offenſive, no leſs ſecur'd, then by Arms of greater Force, from the Darts of the Enemy, which were as ſlight and eaſily avoided. Upon the Road, after they had travell'd five days, of a ſudden *Volux* ſhew'd himſelf in the open Field with about a Thou-

(*a*) Which were taken from the Iſlands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*; accounted the beſt Slingers in the World; for that they never miſs'd their Aim, and ſlung their Darts with that force, as if they had been ſent out of an Engin.

(*b*) Which were only a Sword a Javelin, and a light Buckler.

a Thouſand Horſe, who riding ſcatter'd and without any Order, not only ſeem'd to be more then they were, but begot a kind of miſtruſt of Hoſtile Treachery both in *Sylla* and all the reſt. Thereupon every one began to make ready, to fix their Weapons, and put themſelves into a Poſture of defence. Something of Fear, but more of Hopes, as being Victors, and to fight againſt thoſe whom they had often vanquiſh'd. But in the midſt of this hurry, the Vancurriers that ſcouted before, returning brought word, that all were friends. Then *Volux* coming up call'd to ſpeak with the *Queſtor*, and told him, that he was ſent by his Father *Bocchus* to meet him and attend him as his Convoy. So that the *Moors* and *Romans* joyn'd together and March'd all the next day without any miſtruſt one of another. But in the Evening ſo ſoon as the Camp was pitch'd, *Volux* with fear and diſorder in his Countenance, comes galloping to *Sylla* and informs him, that he was aſcertain'd by his Spies, that *Jugurth* was at hand, and therefore with great Importunity intreats and beſeeches him privately in the dead of the Night to conſult his own ſafety by ſpeedy flight. But *Sylla* with an undaunted

undaunted Courage denies that he fear'd the *Numidian* whom he had ſo often vanquiſh'd; that he was ſufficiently aſſur'd of the Valour of his Souldiers; and though certain deſtruction ſtar'd him in the face, he would rather ſtand his ground; then deſerting thoſe that were committed to his Conduct, by ſhameful flight endeavour to ſpare a frail and uncertain Life, which perchance ſoon after, ſickneſs might deprive him of. However he follows his advice to diſlodg by Night: and to that purpoſe orders the Souldiers to take their Suppers, make a great number of Fires, and at the firſt Watch without Noiſe or Tumult to be ready to March. The next morning by Sun riſe, the Souldiers being weari'd with travelling in the dark, *Sylla* pitches his Tents; at what time the Mooriſh Scouts bring Intelligence, that *Jugurth* lay within two Miles before 'em. Which news being ſpread in the Camp, our Men were not a little terrify'd, believing themſelves betray'd by *Volux*, and brought into an *Ambuſcado*. And ſome there were who cry'd out that ſuch a Peice of Treachery ought not to eſcape unpuniſh'd, but that they ſhould revenge themſelves upon the Traytor with their

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own hands. But *Sylla*, though he thought the ſame, however he protected the *Moor* from any Injury: encourages his Men to behave themſelves Valiantly; that it was not the firſt time a few Couragious and brave had Fought againſt a Multitude with Succeſs; that the leſs they ſpar'd themſelves in Battel, the more ſecure they were; and that it no way became any Man, who had Arms in his hands to expect ſafety from his unarmed feet; or in the midſt of certain danger to turn the naked part of his Body toward the Enemy. After that, invoking the mighty *Jupiter* to be a witneſs of the Treachery and Falſhood of *Bocchus*, he commands *Volux* to depart the Camp, as one that might aſſiſt the Enemy. He on the other ſide with tears in his Eyes, beſeeches the Legate not to have ſuch miſtruſtful thoughts of him; that there was nothing of deceit in *Bocchus*, but that all proceeded from the ſubtilty of *Jugurth*, who had by his Spies diſcover'd his March: and therefore, in regard that *Jugurth* had no great Forces with him, beſides that all his hopes and welfare depended upon his Father, deſir'd him to believe the *Numidian* durſt not make any open Attempt,

where

where the Son of ſuch a Father was preſent. For which reaſon he thought it the beſt way to March boldly through the middle of his Camp: and that for his part, he would accompany *Sylla* alone, either ſending his *Moors* before, or leaving 'em behind in the ſame Place. This Counſel, as it happens in caſes of the like nature, was approv'd, and ſo marching forthwith, becauſe they came of a ſudden, while *Jugurth* was doubtful and heſitating what to do, they paſs'd without any oppoſition. After that, within a few days they arriv'd at their Journeys end.

108. At the ſame time a certain *Numidian, Aſpar* by Name, was very frequent and familiar with *Bocchus*, being ſent before by *Jugurth*, cunningly and cloſely to pry into *Bocchus's* ſecret Reſolutions. Beſides him, there was alſo another, whoſe Name was *Dabar*, the Son of *Maſſugrada*, and Kinſman of *Maſſiniſſa* by the Mother's ſide (for his Father was the Son of a Concubine) highly careſs'd and favour'd by the *Moor*, for his many excellent Endowments, whom *Bocchus* had alſo upon many occaſions before found very faithful to the *Romans*. Him therefore he ſends

to *Sylla*, to let him underſtand, That the King was ready to perform whatever the *Roman* People commanded: That he himſelf ſhould appoint the Day, the Place and Time for Conference: That he intended to keep all his Conſultations with him entire and private: That he had no reaſon to be afraid of *Jugurth*'s Ambaſſador: for that he was ſent for on purpoſe, to the end the Common Good might be debated with more freedom; there being no other way to prevent the Frauds and Wiles of *Jugurth*. But in my Opinion, *Bocchus* kept the Treaty afoot both with *Romans* and *Numidians*, rather out of a Punic Piece of Treachery, then upon thoſe Pretences which he publickly ſpred abroad: and that he had frequently Combats in his Mind, whether to deliver up *Jugurth* to Us, or *Sylla* to Him; while his Natural Inclinations pleaded againſt Us, but his Fears perſwaded for Us. However it were, *Sylla* made Anſwer, that he ſhould ſay little before *Aſpar*; the reſt privately, none or very few being preſent. He likewiſe tells *Dabar* what Anſwer he expected. After this, both meeting according to appointment, *Sylla* tells the King, That he was ſent by the *Conſul*, to know whether

whether he were for Peace or War. Then the King, as it was agreed between 'em, desir'd him to return again the Tenth day after, That he could determine nothing at that time, but that then he would give him his Answer. Thus both departed to their several Camps. But when the Night was far spent, *Sylla* was privately sent for by *Bocchus*, and faithful Interpreters made choice of on both sides. Or rather, *Dabar*, with consent of both Parties, a Person of clear Integrity, was sworn to interpret truly between 'em: and then the King thus began.

110. 'I never thought it would have 'come to pass, that being a King, the Great-'est of all within this Continent and of all 'the most Powerful that I know of, should 'ever have been reduc'd to be oblig'd to 'a private Person. And truly, *Sylla*, be-'fore I knew Thee, I have succour'd ma-'ny that su'd to me, others of my own 'accord, never in need of Relief my self. 'This Diminution of my Dignity which 'others are wont to lament, makes me re-'joyce. It is my Happiness to stand in 'need of thy Friendship, then which there 'can be nothing dearer to my Soul. Of

'this make Trial: Arms, Men, Money, 'whatever thou haſt a mind to, take and 'uſe: and as long as thou liv'ſt, ne'r think 'thy Friendſhip ſufficiently remunerated: 'which I ſhall always deem a Debt that 'never can be repay'd: for in my Opi-'nion it is leſs diſhonourable to a Prince 'to be overcome by force of Arms, then 'in Munificence. Now as to the Affairs 'of your Republic, in the behalf of which 'you here are come to Treat, thus much 'in ſhort. I never made War upon the 'People of *Rome*, nor ever conſented to a 'War. Only in defence of the Confines 'of my Kingdom, the Arm'd I oppos'd 'with Arms. But let that paſs: Continue 'as you pleaſe your ſelves, the War with '*Jugurth*. I will never ſo much as ſtir 'over the River *Mulacha*, the Bounds 'between me and *Micipſa*, neither will I 'ever ſuffer *Jugurth* to paſs it. Moreo-'ver if there be any thing farther that 'you require of me fit for me to grant, 'or you to ask, you ſhall not return 'with a Repulſe.

III. To this *Sylla*, as to what con-cern'd himſelf, made Anſwer conciſely and modeſtly: in reference to the Peace, and

and the Common Affairs, he diſcours'd at large. Laſtly, He gave the King to underſtand, that the Senate and People of *Rome* would not take it for any obligation what he had laſt promis'd, as being much ſuperior to him both by Sea and Land: That there was ſomething to be done, that might ſeem to ſhew him more zealous of their Welfare then his own Intereſt. Which he had an Opportunity to do, as having *Jugurth* in his Power: who, if he were by himſelf ſurrender'd up to the *Romans*, there could not be a greater Obligation laid upon a grateful People: beſides that the League, the Friendſhip, and that part of *Numidia* which he now ſu'd for, would then be freely offer'd him. At firſt the King made a kind of ſlight Denial; pleaded Kindred, Affinity, and the League between 'em: then pretended his Fears of incurring the Hatred of the People, to whom *Jugurth* was dear, the *Romans* no leſs odious, ſhould he falſifie the Confidence repos'd in him. At length orecome by Importunity, he ſubmits, and promiſes to do whatever *Sylla* deſir'd him. Then they ſettle all things which were thought neceſſary to make a ſhew of including the *Numidian*

within the Peace, which he moſt earneſtly deſir'd, as being quite weary of the War. And ſo the Plot being laid, they take their Leaves for that time.

112. The next day the King ſends for *Aſpar*, who was *Jugurth*'s Agent, and tells him, That *Dabar* had fish'd out of *Sylla*, that the War might be compos'd upon Conditions: and that therefore he ſhould do well to know the King's Mind. Thereupon, he haſtens with great Joy to *Jugurth*'s Camp. From whom after he had taken full Inſtructions, away he poſts again, and in eight days returns to *Bocchus*, and aſſures him, that *Jugurth* was ready to yield obedience to whatever was impos'd upon him; only that he durſt not confide in *Marius*: for that formerly Articles of Peace concluded with the *Roman* Generals had been voted ineffectual. And therefore if *Bocchus* intended the Welfare of Both, and deſir'd a firm Ratification of the Agreement, that he ſhould make it his Buſineſs, that they might meet all three together, under pretence of concluding the Peace, and then that he ſhould deliver *Sylla* into his hands; for that when he had ſuch a Perſon at his

his diſpoſal, the League would of neceſſity be confirm'd by the Command of the Senate and People of *Rome*; who were not wont to ſuffer a Perſon of his Dignity, (not enſlav'd by his own Overſight, but in the Service of the Commonwealth) to lie long in the Power of the Enemy.

113. This the *Moor*, revolving dayly ſeveral Imaginations in his Mind, at length promis'd to do. But whether Fraud or Ingenuity were the Motives that occaſion'd his delay, we never could be fully ſatisfy'd. For as the Determinations of Princes are quick and haſty, ſo are they no leſs inconſtant, and frequently repugnant one to another. Soon after, the Place and Time being fix'd where they were to meet all three together for the Concluſion of the Peace, *Bocchus* ſometimes ſends for *Sylla*, ſometimes for *Jugurth*'s Agent; entertains both with equal Civility, and promiſes to both the ſame thing: on the other ſide, they are both well pleas'd, and both alike full of ſucceſsful Expectations. But upon the Night preceding the Day appointed for the Conference, the *Moor*, ſending for his Friends, and by and by altering his reſolutions,

and diſmiſſing 'em again, was a long time in a great Agitation of Mind alone by himſelf; by his Looks the going and coming of his Colour, by his Actions and Geſtures ſhewing no leſs Diſturbance of Body then of Mind; which during the ſilence of Utterance, he diſplay'd in the alterations of his Countenance. However, at length he ſends for *Sylla*, and by his Direction layes the Plot to entrap the *Numidian*. To which purpoſe, when the Day was come, and that News was brought him, that *Jugurth* was not far off, as it were to honour his Confederate, accompany'd with ſome few Friends together with our *Queſtor*, he rides up a little Hillock in view of thoſe that lay in Ambuſh: Whither the *Numidian* approaching with ſome few, the moſt of his Kindred unarm'd, upon the Signal given, he is ſurrounded by the Ambuſcado. The reſt were all cut in pieces; *Jugurth* in Chains is deliver'd to *Sylla*, and by him guarded to *Marius*.

114. At the ſame time, two of our Generals, *Q. Cæpio* and *M. Manlius* fought with bad Succeſs againſt the *Gauls*. Which put all *Italy*

* *Or rather the* Cimbrians.

Italy into a great Consternation. For not only of ancient times, but even in our days, the *Romans* held this for a Maxim, that all other Enterprizes lay prostrate to their Courage, but that with the *Gauls* they contended for Safety, not for Honour. But after the *Numidian* War was at an end, and that the News arriv'd, how *Jugurth* was coming in Chains to *Rome*, *Marius* was again made *Consul* in his absence, and the Province of *Gallia* decreed him. About the middle of *January*, with great Honour he made his Triumphal * Entry into the City: and from that time forward the Hopes and Welfare of the Commonwealth were all entirely fix'd in Him.

* After which *Jugurth* was thrown naked into a Dungeon, where in six days he starved himself to Death.

The End of the Jugurthine *War*.

FRAG.

FRAGMENTS
Out of other
HISTORIES
OF
SALUST.

The Oration of M. Æmilius Lepidus, *Conſul to the People of* Rome, *againſt* Sylla.

YOUR Clemency and Integrity, moſt Worthy *Romans*, which have rendred ye ſo great and famous above other Nations, create in me a more then ordinary fear of the Progreſs of *L. Sylla*'s Tyranny, leaſt while you nere ſuſpect in others, what in your ſelves you deem abominable, you be beguil'd and circumvented (eſpecially ſince all his hopes are grounded upon Villany and Perfidiouſneſs, and that he does not think himſelf otherwiſe ſafe, then by proving far worſe and more deteſtable then you can fear him to be, that ſo your Miſeries may exempt ye, his Slaves as he accounts ye, from the care of your Liberty) or if ye provide for your ſelves, that ye may be employ'd rather in fending off your apparent dangers then in revenge

venge of offer'd violence. The Penſioners of his Guard, Men that make a great Figure in the world, and no leſs eminent for imitating the worthy Examples of their Anceſtors, I cannot too ſufficiently admire, to ſee how they enſlave themſelves, to tyranize, over you; chooſing Both, out of a natural inclination to Injuſtice, rather then uprightly and legally to live in Freedom. Moſt noble Off-ſpring of the *Brutus*'s, the *Æmilius*'s, and the *Lutatii*; born to ſubvert thoſe things which their Fore-fathers purchaſed by their Vertue and their Courage. For then, what elſe did They defend, but their Liberty and their native Manſions from the Violence of *Pyrrhus*, *Hannibal*, *Philip* and *Antiochus*, that we might not be obedient to any but our own Laws? All which, this ſame cruel *Romulus*, as if wreſted from Foreigners, holds faſt in his own Poſſeſſion; not ſatiated with the ſlaughter of ſo many Armies, nor of the Conſul, nor of ſo many others of the Principal Nobility whom the Fortune of the War had deſtroy'd; but then more cruel, when proſperity turns the hearts of other Men from Fury to Compaſſion: The only Perſon in the World, ſince the memory of Man, that ever invented puniſhments for thoſe that were to come; who were certain to be wrong'd before they were born: and became moſt wickedly ſecure in the Inhumanity of his barbarous proceedings, while you, for fear of more grievous ſervitude, were deterr'd from the recovery of your Liberty. But you muſt to work, and make head againſt this Torrent, leaſt your ſpoyls come once to be at his Command. 'Tis now no time to dally, or to ſtay for Succour in anſwer of our Prayers. Unleſs you hope, that either a weary, or aſham'd of his Tyranny, he will venture to quit with danger, what he has raviſh'd into

his

his Poſſeſſion by violence. But he has gon ſo far, that he accompts nothing Honourable but what is ſafe, and deems all things juſt and honeſt that ſerve to uphold his Uſurpation. Therefore that ſame Reſt and Tranquillity with freedom, which many good Men rather choſe then labour accompany'd with Honour, are now quite vaniſh'd from the World. At this time we muſt either ſerve, or domineer, Moſt worthy *Romans*, be afraid our ſelves, or be a terror to others. For what is more to be expected? What is there, either Human or Divine that has eſcap'd without Pollution? The *Roman* People, ere while the Lords of Nations deſpoil'd of all Command, their Glory and their Privileges, without life or motion, and contemn'd as uſeleſs, have hardly left 'em the allowances of Slaves: a great number of our Allies and all the *Latines*, whom you for many and important ſervices, made pertakers of your Franchiſes, are now prohibited by one; and a few Life Guard-Penſioners poſſeſs the hereditary Habitations of the Innocent Commonalty, as the wages of their Villanies. Our Laws, our judicial Proceedings, the Publick Treaſures, the Provinces, nay Kings themſelves, are all at the Diſpoſal of one man's Will: in a word, abſolute Power of Life and Death lies proſtrate at the Pleaſure of a ſingle Tyrant. Ye have beheld at the ſame time human Victims offer'd to his Fury, and the Sepulchres of the ſlain beſmear'd with Civil Blood. Does there any thing then more remain for Men to act, then either to diſſolve the Injuſtice, or to dye Couragiouſly? For Death has ſtill determin'd the ſame end to all Men, though environ'd and immur'd in Steel; nor is there any Man that waits the laſt conſtraint of Fate, afraid to dare, unleſs effeminately abject.

abject. But I am Seditious, as *Sylla* terms me, becauſe I ſeem to affect the rewards of Tumult and Faction; and a promoter of War, for redemanding the Privileges and Rights of Peace. That is to ſay, becauſe you never will be otherwiſe ſecure, or ſafe in your Empire, till *Vettius Picens*, and the Notary *Cornelius* have made a waſtful ſale of other Mens Eſtates acquir'd by Pains and Induſtry: unleſs you approve all the Proſcriptions of the Innocent, becauſe they were wealthy; the Tortures of Illuſtrious Men; the City lay'd Deſolate by Baniſhment and Slaughter: and the Eſtates of your Afflicted Fellow-Citizens, either ſold or given away in Recompences, like the *Cimbrians* ſpoils.

But he Objects againſt me Poſſeſſions bought with the Plunder of Perſons proſcrib'd. Which was indeed the moſt enormous of all, his own Committed Crimes, that neither my ſelf, nor any man elſe could be ſafe, if we acted fairly and honeſtly. However what I then purchas'd out of fear, when I had pay'd down my money, I reſtored to the Right Owners: Neither is it my deſign to make a prey of any of my Fellow-Citizens. Certainly, thoſe Calamities might have been ſufficient, which infected with the ſame Fury, we ſuffer'd for a while; *Roman* Armies ſharply encountring one another, and Foreign Weapons turn'd upon our own Breaſts. Let there be end of all theſe Injuries and Oppreſſions. Of which *Sylla* is ſo far from repenting, that he glory'd in what he had done, and might he but have been permitted, would have far more greedily perpetrated. Neither now do I fear, what your Opinion is concerning him, but how far you dare adventure: leaſt while ye ſtand gaping one upon another, who

ſhould

ſhould lead ye on, ye be prevented (not by his Forces, which are inconſiderable and weak, but by your own Cowardice) ere you are prepar'd to anticipate him, and be ſo far happy as you ſhall dare to act. For ſetting aſide the Debauch'd Penſioners of his Guard, who takes his part? Rather, who does not deſire a Change of all things, excepting Victory? Surely not the Souldiery that have only ſpilt their blood to enrich *Tarrula* and *Scyrrus*, the worſt of Slaves: Certainly, not they, before whom *Fuſidius* was preferr'd when advanc'd to ſeveral Offices; a Beaſtly male-*Chambermaid*, a defilement and Scandal to all Honours. And therefore I have a great Confidence in the Victorious Army, who after all their Wounds and Hardſhip, have only gain'd a Tyrant. Unleſs they went about to ſubvert the Tribunitial Authority, which their Anceſtors erected by force of Arms; or to wreſt out of their own hands their Laws and Privileges. Rarely well repay'd indeed, when ſent back again to the Bogs and Woods, they found their wages, I mean contempt and hatred, to be at the Diſpoſal of a few. Why then does he March with ſuch a Body, and ſo elated in mind? Becauſe Proſperity wonderfully obſcures and mantles Vice. But when this Proſperity begins to fail, then as formidable as he was before, as much will he be afterwards contemn'd and ſcorn'd unleſs pretence of Peace and Concord give him Confidence, which has appropriated Names to his Villany and Parricide. For, ſays the Tyrant, the *Roman People* otherwiſe can have no end of War, unleſs the Commonalty, expell'd from their Inheritances, to Him become a Civil Booty; unleſs the Right and Arbitrement of all things be at his diſpoſal, which formerly belong'd to the *People of Rome*.

Rome. Which if you acknowledge to be Peace and Concord, approve the moſt pernicious plagues and grievances that can befal the Common-wealth: embrace Leiſure with Servitude; and tranſmit to Poſterity a Preſident, that once the People of *Rome* were deluded and fool'd at the expence of their own Blood. 'For my own part, though as you ſee, By this ſame High Command I have as much as in reaſon I can well deſire, to keep up the Grandeur of my Anceſtors, to ſupport my own Reputation, and to ſecure my ſelf, 'twas never my deſign to Study my Private Intereſt, as preferring a dangerous and hazardous Liberty before quiet ſervitude. Which if it be your opinion likewiſe, reſume your wonted Courage, and with the Favour of the Gods follow the Conſul *M. Æmilius*, your Captain and Leader, for the recovery of your Liberty.

The Oration of L. Philippus *againſt* Lepidus.

THere is nothing which I more eagerly deſire, Conſcript Fathers, then the Tranquillity of the Common-wealth; or that it ſhould be defended when in danger, by the Stouteſt and moſt forward of its Members. In a word I heartily wiſh, that all wicked enterprizes may prove the ruin of the Contrivers. On the other ſide, all the whole Frame of Government is unhing'd by Factions; and theſe Factions encourag'd by thoſe whom it rather became to endeavour their total Suppreſſion and Extirpation: and what the worſt

worſt and moſt extravagant of Mens decree, the moſt vertuous and moſt prudent are oblig'd to execute. A War at preſent you believe unreaſonable, yet you muſt take Arms, becauſe forſooth, tis *Lepidus*'s pleaſure; but perhaps there may be ſome that love Peace beſt, yet can endure War. Good Gods! that Men ſhould rule this City, yet lay aſide all Care of Governing. *M. Æmilius*, of all Flagitious Caitiffs the moſt wicked, and whether more Villain or more Coward cannot well be determin'd, has got an Army to oppreſs your Liberty, and he that was contemn'd has made himſelf more formidable while you ſit whiſpering together, and regardleſs of the ſayings and the Propheſies of the *Sybills*, ſeem rather to wiſh for Peace then to defend it: not underſtanding, that by the Lenity of your Decrees you leſſen your own Authority, and render him exempt from fear. And that deſervedly: ſince he has obtain'd the Conſulſhip by Rapine, and a Province together with an Army, to carry on Sedition and Faction. What would he have receiv'd for his good Services, whoſe vile miſdeeds ye have ſo liberally rewarded? It was perhaps, becauſe that they who even to the laſt, gave up their Votes for Legates, Peace, Concord and the like, were favour'd and promoted by him. No; for They, deſpis'd, and thought unworthy of the Common-wealth, were lookt upon as only fit to be made Booty of; as ſuing again for Peace with the ſame fears which they had about 'em when they loſt it. Truly at the very beginning, when I ſaw *Hetruria* in Rebellion, the proſcrib'd Perſons recall'd, and the Republic rent and torn with Bribes and Penſions, I thought it high time to haſten, and with ſome few others follow'd the advice of *Catulus*. But they who extoll'd the

Æmilian Family for their good Services, and magnify'd the *Roman* People for augmenting their Grandeur by Pardoning and Clemency, never diſcern'd that *Lepidus* alſo was a Branch of the ſame Stock: when he took up Arms as a private Perſon to ſubvert their Liberty, every one labouring after wealth, or the Protections of great Perſonages, deſtroy'd the Public Intereſt. And then was *Lepidus* a meer Robber ſurrounded with Camp-Boys, and ſome few Ruffianly Bravoe's: among whom there was not one that did not value a days wages above his life. Now he is a *Proconſul* in high Command, not purchas'd; but conferr'd upon him by your ſelves, with Leiutenants as yet Legally obedient: and to him reſorted Men of all Degrees the moſt corrupt and vicious; inflam'd with luſt and want: whirl'd to and fro with the Guilt of their Crimes: people never at reſt but in Sedition; in peace moſt turbulent: ſowing Tumult upon Tumult, and War upon War; the Penſioners of *Saturninus* formerly, afterwards of *Sulpitius*; then of *Marius* and *Damaſippus*, and now of *Lepidus*. Beſides *Hetruria* up in Arms, and all the Embers of extinguiſh'd Wars now breaking forth again: Both *Spains* Sollicited to Inſurrection, *Mithridates* the next Neighbour to our Tributaries, by whom we are as yet ſupported, watches round about an Opportunity for Invaſion: ſo that there is nothing but a proper Captain wanting to ſubvert the whole Body of the Empire. Which I beſeech and implore ye, Conſcript Fathers, to conſider; and that you will not ſuffer Licentious Villany like a peſtilence, by contagion to infect the ſound. For when Rewards attend the wicked, there's no man eaſily will addict himſelf to vertue *gratis*. Do ye think it fit to wait

wait till with a new embody'd Army they once more invade the City with Fire and Sword? Which ſeems much more like and nearer to its preſent Condition, then from Civil War to Peace and Concord. A War which he has inflam'd in contempt of all things both Divine and Human; not for any wrong done either to himſelf or at leaſt as he pretends to others, but for the Subverſion of our Laws and Liberties. For he is tortur'd and harraſs'd in his mind with Ambition, and dread of ill ſucceſs, void of Counſel and Reſtleſs; Trying this, attempting that, he fears Tranquillity, hates War, foreſees a Curb upon his Luxury and Licentiouſneſs, and in the mean time makes an Abuſive Advantage of your Remiſſneſs. Which I know not what to call, whether Fear, or Sloath or Madneſs. While every one ſingly ſeems to pray that the threatning miſchief, may not like Lightning dart upon himſelf, but no man ſtirs an inch to prevent the gathering Cloud. I beſeech ye conſider how the Natural Order of things is ranvers'd. Formerly public Contrivances of miſchief againſt the State were ſecretly carry'd on; the Remedies openly provided; and by that means good Men had the Advantage of the Wicked: Now Peace and Concord are openly diſturb'd, but ſecretly defended. They who delight in War and public Calamity are up in Arms, and you in fear and Conſternation. What are your Hopes? unleſs perhaps you are aſham'd, or look upon it as an irksome Toyl to do your Duty. Do the Commands of *Lepidus*, appeaſe your Indignation? Who tells ye, 'tis his pleaſure that every Man ſhould have his own, yet has nothing but what belongs to other Men: who would have all Claims of War cancell'd, yet all the

while compels by force of Arms: who deſires the Freedom of the City to be confirm'd, yet denies the Citizens their Franchiſes of which they were depriv'd; who for Concords ſake would have the Tribunitian Power reſtor'd to the Commons, from maintenance of which all our Diſcords have deriv'd their Original. Moſt villanous and impudent of all Mankind, canſt thou be thought to mind the wants, the grievances and lamentations of thy Fellow Citizens, who canſt call nothing thy own, unleſs what forcibly thou haſt gain'd by Plunder and Rapine? Thou ſtandeſt for a ſecond Conſulſhip, as if thou hadſt reſign'd the Firſt. Thou ſeek'ſt for Peace by that ſame very War, by which it was diſturb'd when fairly once obtain'd: Traytor to Us, faithleſs to Them; the Enemy of all good People; regardleſs both of Gods and Men whoſe Laws Divine and Humane thou haſt violated by Treaſon and Perjury. Who being what Thou art, I adviſe thee to continue thy Reſolutions, and not to quit thy Arms; nor to keep Us in continual Cares and Anxieties, thy ſelf ſo reſtleſs when Seditions are delay'd. Neither Provinces nor Laws nor Houſhold Gods allow thee for a Citizen? Go on then, as thou haſt begun, that ſo thou mayſt the ſooner meet with thy Reward. But as for You, *Conſcript Fathers*, how long will you by tedious lingring ſuffer the Commonweath to be in jeopardy, and only talk of taking Arms in its Defence? Souldiers are dayly liſted againſt ye; vaſt ſums both publickly and privately extorted: The Laws commanded to be ſerviceable to Ambition, Will and Pleaſure, while you ſit voting Lieutenants, and conſidering what Decrees to make. And upon my word, the more earneſtly you ſue for Peace, ſo much the ſharper the War will

will be, when he finds himſelf more ſtrongly ſuported by your fears, then by the Juſtice of his Cauſe. For they that tell ye they abominate Tumults, and the Slaughter of their Fellow Citizens, and for that reaſon detain ye unarm'd from oppoſing *Lepidus* in Arms, believe you will more readily, ſuffer what the vanquiſh'd muſt endure, when ye ſo looſely brook what might be in your power to chaſtiſe. Thus they diſſwade him from Peace with you, and you from War with him. If theſe things pleaſe ye; if ſuch a Lethargy benum your Sences, that forgetful of *Cinna*'s Devaſtations, upon whoſe return to the City, all Majeſty and Degrees of Dignity were trampl'd under foot, you will nevertheleſs ſurrender up your ſelves, your Wives and Children to *Lepidus*, what need of more Decrees? to what Purpoſe the Aſſiſtance of *Catulus*? in vain both he and all good men take care to ſupport the Commonwealth. Do as you think fit; ſue to *Cethegus* and other Traytors for their Protections, that long to glut themſelves with new Rapines and Conflagrations, and to brandiſh once more their naked Swords againſt their Houſhold Gods. But if Liberty and Juſtice be more acceptable; Let your Decrees become your Grandeur, and fortify the Commonwealth with men of Vertue and Courage. There is a new rais'd Army at hand; moreover Colonies of Veterane Souldiers, all the Nobility, moſt expert Commanders, and Fortune ready to attend the Beſt. In a ſhort while the Forces already muſter'd together will disband and melt away through our Remiſsneſs. Wherefore it is my Opinion clearly, ſince *Lepidus* of his own head is Marching to the City with an Army compos'd of Ruffians and Enemies to the Commonwealth, in contempt of the Authority of this Senate.

that *Appius Claudius*, as * King *pro tempore* together with *Q. Catulus*, and others that are at preſent in Command, be appointed to guard the City, and to take care that no Detriment befall the Commonwealth.

* *In Latin* Interrex, *who was a great Officer created by the* Romans *in troubleſom Times when the Grand Elections could not proceed through the Sickneſs or Rebellion of the Conſul: whoſe Dignity laſted only five days, at the end of which he ſurrendred his Dignity to another.*

The Epiſtle of Cn. Pompey *to the Senate.*

IF as your Enemy, and the Enemy of my Country, and your Houſhold Gods, I had undergone as many Hardſhips and Dangers, as from my early Adoleſcency the moſt Barbarous of your Foes have been vanquiſh'd under my Conduct, and your Security thereby eſtabliſh'd, you could not have enacted any thing againſt me in my abſence more ſeverely, then your preſent Unkindneſs, Conſcript Fathers, makes me ſenſible of. Me, whom expos'd to a moſt cruel Enemy, 'ere ſcarce my Age was capable of Action, together with an Army moſt deſerving, as much as lies within your power you have betray'd to periſh for want of Food, the moſt miſerable of all Deaths. Was it with this Deſign the *Roman* People ſent their Sons to War? Are theſe the Guerdons of our Wounds, and Blood ſo often ſhed for the Honour of our Country? Tyr'd out with writing and ſending Meſſengers, I have waſted all my private Wealth and Hopes

Hopes, While you for three Years time have ſcarce allow'd me a ſingle Years Expence. I call the Immortal Gods to witneſs, whether you think me to be a Bottomleſs Exchequer, and whether I am able to Support an Army without Food or Pay. I muſt confeſs indeed I haſten'd to this War with a more eager deſire, then prudent Conſideration; as one who having from you receiv'd the Title of General, in forty days levy'd an Army, and from the *Alpes* drave back the Enemy already preſſing upon the Neck of *Italy*, into *Spain*. Through them I open'd another Paſſage, more then ever *Hannibal* did, and more convenient for our Marches. I recover'd *Gallia*, the *Pyrenæans*, *Lacetania* *and *Jergetum*, and with raw Souldiers, and much fewer in number ſtood the firſt ſhock of Victor *Sertorius*; and ſurrounded with a cruel and barbarous Enemy, winter'd in the field, not in warm Quarters, nor of my own choice. But why ſhould I enumerate Battels, or winter Expeditions, Towns levell'd with the Earth, or taken by Compoſition? Deeds are more prevalent then Words. The Enemies Camp ſurpriz'd nere the River (b) *Subro*, the Battel by the River *Durius* (c) and *C. Herennius* chief Leader of a Potent Adverſary, vanquiſh'd, and his Army with the City of *Valencia* utterly ruin'd, are ſufficient Teſtimonies of the Truths I utter: For which, moſt grateful Fathers, you repay Us with want and ſtarving Hunger. So that the Condition of mine, is no better then that of the Enemies Army. Neither of the two are paid; and both ready to March Victors into *Italy*. Of which I put ye in

(a) Parts of Catalonia.

(b) Now Xucar.

(c) Duero.

mind, and beſeech ye to take care That I may not be conſtrain'd to take private Reſolutions in the midſt of theſe Neceſſities. The hither *Spain*, of which the Enemy has no part, either our ſelves or *Sertorius* have laid waſt even to utter deſtruction, unleſs ſome Maritime Towns which are rather a burthen and a charge to Us. The laſt year *Gallia* ſupply'd the Army of *Metellus* with Corn and Money. Which now, by reaſon of bad and blaſted Harveſts is ſcarce able to ſupport it ſelf, And for my own part, I have not only waſted my particlar Eſtate, but loſt all my Credit. Our laſt Hopes are in your ſelves, who unleſs you relieve our diſtreſſes, muſt expect no other, then what I now foretel ye, and which I never ſhall be able to prevent, that the Army will March from hence, and with it all the whole War of *Spain* muſt be remov'd into *Italy*.

The Oration of Marcus Licinius, *Tribune of the People*, *to the Commonalty of* Rome.

IF, Worthy *Romans*, you were not well acquainted with the difference between the Rights and Privileges which you inherit from your Anceſtors, and that ſame ſervitude deſign'd by *Sylla*, my Diſcourſe would then require a longer time, and it behov'd me to inſtruct ye for what Oppreſſions, and how oft the Armed Commons made a ſeparation from the *Fathers*. Now it ſuffices only to encourage ye, and firſt to lead the way, which I eſteem

I eſteem moſt proper to redeem our Liberty. Nor am I ignorant, how vaſt a Power and Intereſt among the Nobility, I am about to pull down from domineering Uſurpation, my ſelf alone, without aſſiſtance and unguarded: only with the ſhadow of Magiſtracy: and how much ſafer it is for a whole Faction to act in Combination, then for Perſons innocent to move ſingly by themſelves. But beſides the good Hopes which I have in you, This has overcome all my fears, that the Misfortunes of Contending are far more ſatisfactory to a generous Courage, then never at all to have conteſted. Tho all others who have been created Tribunes to ſecure your Franchiſes, have turn'd all their Power and Authority to your prejudice, o'er ſway'd by Favour, Hopes, or by Rewards; and rather choſe to ſin for Hire, then do juſtly *Gratis*. For theſe reaſons they all ſubmitted under the Domination of a Few, who by their Reputation in War have got Poſſeſſion of the public Treaſure, Armies, Kingdoms, Provinces, and make your ſpoils their Towre of ſafety: while you, the Multitude, like ſo many Sheep ſurrender your ſelvs in Vaſſalage to this and t'other Paramounting Lord, diſpoyl'd of all thoſe Bleſſings which your Fore-fathers left you. But perhaps it is, becauſe as formerly you gave your Suffrages for Rulers, now you give the ſame for Maſters. Therefore all your Tribunes flock to them; and if it be your chance to recover your own again, you ſhall ſee 'em upon the Turn of the Tyde return to you again. For few have the Courage to defend what beſt they like; the t'other are the ſtonger Party that fight in their own wrong. But can you dream of meeting an Obſtruction when unanimous and reſolute, from thoſe that fear'd ye when remiſs and negligent? unleſs you think that

that *Cotta*, a Conſul of the middle Faction, reſtor'd ſome certain Privileges to the Tribunes for any other reaſon then out of fear: for tho *L. Sicinius*, firſt adventuring to open his Mouth in behalf of the Tribunitian Power, was diſappointed while you only mutter'd at it, yet they that oppos'd him firſt began to dread your Hatred, 'ere you would be brought to reſent the Oppreſſion. At which I never can ſufficiently admire, moſt worthy *Romans*. For you knew it was a vanity to tire your Expectations. After the Death of *Sylla*, who impos'd that heavy Bondage, you thought that then the end of all your Miſchiefs was at hand? But there ſprung up a far more Cruel *Catulus*. A Tumult brake out when *Brutus* and *Æmilius Mamercus* were Conſuls; But then *C. Curio* play'd the Tyrant, even to the fatal deſtruction of the innocent Tribune. You ſaw laſt year how furiouſly *Lucullus* threatned *L. Quinctius*, and wrought him from his Purpoſe. And laſtly now, how I am plagu'd and harraſs'd among 'em! A needleſs Trouble, would they but once ſurceaſe their Uſurpation before you made an end of ſerving: Eſpecially, ſeeing whatever are the pretences for their civil Broils, the main Conteſt on both ſides is for Dominion over you. Thoſe other Figments of Licentiouſneſs, Hatred or Avarice are but Flaſhes that extinguiſh in a ſhort Time. Only one thing continues permanent, the end at which both ſides with ardour drive at: and that is to diſpoil ye perpetually of the Tribunitial Power, the only Buckler which your Anceſtors provided to ſhield your Liberty, which I admoniſh and beſeech ye to conſider: and that you would not, odly changing the Names of things to favour ſloth, call Servitude Tranquillity; which it were not now a Seaſon

Seaſon to enjoy, if Wickedneſs have vanquiſh'd Truth and Honeſty; but had been, had You been altogether lull'd aſleep. Now therefore mind your Buſineſs: for unleſs ye overcome, ſince all Oppreſſion is by its weight the more ſecure, they will be ſure to preſs more hard upon ye. What's my Opinion, then, ſome one will ſay? Firſt then, you muſt lay aſide your preſent manner of Behaviour; Tongues let looſe at random, Hearts of Mice; no longer mindful of your Liberty, then in the Public Place of Meeting. Neither do I exhort ye to thoſe Maſculine Proceedings, as when your armed Anceſtors obtain'd Patritian Magiſtracy to be conferr'd upon the Tribunes by the free and unextorted Votes of the Senators: altho, moſt worthy *Romans*, it be in your Power that what you ſuffer commanded now for others, you may either diſpoſe or not diſpoſe of for your ſelves. Expect ye then great *Jupiter*, or ſome other Deity to be your Adviſer? Thoſe high Commands of the Conſuls and Decrees of the Fathers you confirm by Execution; and haſten of your own accords, that Licence that is made uſe of to your prejudice. Nor do I adviſe ye to the revenge of Oppreſſion, but rather to ſit ſtill and be quiet upon that Account. Neither deſirous of diſcord as they recriminate upon me, but wiſhing an end of all diſorders, do I repeat and recal to your Memory their Miſcarriages; which is no more then the Law of Nations allows me: yet if they obſtinately perſiſt, 'tis neither Force of Arms, nor a Seceſſion that I encourage; only I exhort ye, that ye will no longer afford 'em the Advantage of ſhedding your Blood. Let 'em rule, and manage the Government after their own manner, let 'em hunt after Triumph; Let 'em proſecute *Mithridates*

thridates, *Sertorius*, and the remainder of the Exiles, to dignifie their Illuſtrious Statues. Let not them incur the hazard and the danger that have no part of the Profit: unleſs you think your Services repaid by that ſame ſudden Frumentarian Law. A mighty purchaſe, to value your Liberty at Five Buſhels of Wheat, which is no more then the Allowance allotted to the Priſoners in the Common Goal. For as that ſame ſorry Pittance keeps 'em from ſtarving, yet decays their ſtrength; ſo neither is ſo ſmall a Portion ſufficient to ſupport Your Families; but fruſtrates the ſlender hopes of every Coward. Which, tho large and munificent, conſidering it to be the Hopes of Servitude, yet what a peice of ſottiſhneſs it is to be deluded, and to be thankful for your own dues, ſo parſimoniouſly ſcatter'd among you? For any other way they neither could prevail, nor durſt they ſtrive againſt ye all in General. Nor are you leſs to guard your ſelves againſt their cunning Artifices. For therefore it is they give ye good words on purpoſe to amuſe and put ye off, till the return of *Pompey*. Whom though they reverence and dread at preſent, and carry about exalted upon their Shoulders, yet when thoſe fears are over, you ſhall hear, how they will rend and mangle his Reputation. Neither are theſe Aſſertors of Liberty, as they pretend themſelves, aſham'd to acknowledge their own weakneſs, ſo many without one, neither daring to forgive an Injury, nor being able to defend their Rights. For I am certainly convinc'd, that as for *Pompey*, a young Gentleman of ſuch high and early Renown, will rather chooſe to be your Chieftain with your own Conſent and Approbation, then aſſociate with them in Tyranny and Uſurpation; and that you will find him no leſs forward

forward to assert the *Tribunitian* Authority. However worthy *Romans*, in former times, 'twas the Custom for particular Citizens to have Protection of many; never did the entire Body of the People relie upon one single Person: neither was it in the Power of any one particular Man to dispose by Gift, or tear away such Privileges. Therefore we have said enough. Neither is it a matter clos'd up in Ignorance. But I know not what Stupidity has seiz'd your understandings, that neither Honour, nor vile Oppression can move ye: you have made a base Exchange of all your former Bravery, for a little present Idleness; believing you enjoy sufficient Liberty, because your Backs are spar'd or else because you are admitted to the Publick shews, the Munificences of your wealthy Lords and Masters, Privileges indeed not granted to the Country Peasants; who are slaughter'd and crush'd to death between the Contentions of the Potent; or bestow'd in free Gift upon the Magistrates in their Provinces. Thus a few both fight and vanquish: But the Victory, whatever happens, lights heavy upon the Commons: and dayly will do more and more; while they are so industrious to defend their Usurpations, you so negligent to redeem your Liberty.

A Copy of a Letter sent from Mithridates *King of* Pontus, *to* Arsaces *King of the* Parthians.

KIng *Mithridates* to King *Arsaces*, Greeting. All men who are invited to a Confedracy in War, ought well to consider with themselves whether

whether at that time it be at their choice or no to live in Peace; then whether what is by the Sword contended for, be honourable, ſafe, and juſt, or wicked and illegal. 'Tis true, Thou mighteſt perhaps enjoy perpetual Peace, wert thou not ſo near a Neighbour to the moſt wicked and vexatious of Enemies; and were it not for that ſame high Renown that will attend thy proſperous ſucceſs in ſubduing the *Romans*. Nor had I otherwiſe adventur'd to crave thy Alliance, out of a vain hope to recover my loſt Affairs, by blending my Misfortunes with thy Triumphs. Now, that there ſhould be no delay of this Conjunction, if thou wilt but rightly conſider the Conjuncture of Affairs, the ſtorm of a new War at this time threatning *Tigranes*, and my own unfortunate Condition, are at preſent the greateſt Arguments that may be. For He, ſurrounded with his fears, will accept of an Alliance upon any Terms. And for my ſelf, my adverſe Fortune, after many Loſſes, has rendred Me more fit to give the beſt of Counſel upon all Occaſions. And what the Proſperous wiſh for moſt, Me you ſhall have dayly before your Eyes a Preſident, what to embrace, what to refrain in all your future Conduct. For there is one and the ſame cauſe of warring againſt the *Romans* common to all People, Nations and Princes, a profound Ambition of Empire and thirſt after the Riches of the World; which was the only occaſion of their firſt War with *Philip* the *Macedonian* King. While the *Carthaginians* preſs'd hard upon 'em, they craftily diverted the Relief of *Antiochus* with a feign'd Conceſſion of all *Aſia*. Yet no ſooner was *Philip* vanquiſh'd, but *Antiochus* was deſpoil'd of all his Territories on this ſide.

*Taurus

* *Taurus*, and ten thouſand Talents to Boot. Then *Perseus*, whom after many Bloody Conflicts with various Fortune, when he had betaken himſelf to the Sanctuary of the *Samothracian* Gods, theſe crafty Contrivers of Treachery, ſeduc'd into their Clutches; and becauſe they had granted him his Life by Articles murdered him for want of ſleep, while Guards were put upon Him, that would not ſuffer him to take a wink of Reſt. *Eumenes*, whoſe Friendſhip they pretended ſo highly to value, they betray'd to *Antiochus*, the Price of Peace: *Attalus*, the Guardian only of a ſubjugated Country, after they had rendred him ridiculous by their Taxes and their Contumelies, of a Sovereign Prince they made the meaneſt of their Slaves; and having forg'd an impious Will, led his Son *Ariſtonicus* in Triumph like an Enemy, becauſe he only laid claim to his Paternal Inheritance. *Aſia* is by them entirely uſurp'd: and laſtly *Nicomedes* being dead, they have laid violent hands on all *Bithynia*, tho' the Son of *Nyſa*, to whom they had been pleas'd to give the Title of Queen, were then without doubt among the Living. For wherefore ſhould I name my ſelf? with whom though every way diſtinctly bounded from their Empire by Kingdoms and Tetrarchies, becauſe reported opulent, and one that would not be a ſlave, they found a way to quarrel, and ſet upon Me *Nicomedes*, not ignorant of their Impiety, and as it happen'd afterwards, before atteſting, that only the *Cretans* and *Ptolemy* liv'd free and uncontroul'd at

* *If the Talents were of Silver, it makes the ſum one Million two hundred and fifty thouſand pound Sterling: if of Gold, Four hundred and fifty hundred thouſand pound.*

at that Time. However in revenge of that Injustice, I expell'd *Nicomedes* out of *Bithynia*, recover'd *Asia*, the spoils of King *Antiochus*, and rescu'd *Greece* from ponderous Servitude. My farther Progresses the baseſt of my Vassals *Archelaus* put a stop to, by betraying my Army; and they who either through Cowardice or wicked subtlety, withdrew the Assistance of their Arms, thinking to be secure by the Hardships I endur'd, now reap the fatal harveſt of their Treachery. *Ptolomy*, well brib'd, can find no just occasion for a War. The *Cretans* already assaulted are to expect no other Issue, but utter devastation.

Assuredly, for my own part when I understood, that by reason of their Intestine Broils, Battle and Bloodshed rather were delay'd, then peace confirm'd, contrary to the Opinion of *Tigranes*, who too late approv'd my Counsel, and notwithstanding thy remoter distance, while my Neighbours were their Slaves and Vassals, yet I undertook a second War: at what time I overthrew by Land *M.Cotta* the *Roman* General nere * *Chalcedon*; and by Sea despoil'd 'em of a goodly Fleet of Ships. But sitting down before *Cyzicum*, and lingring there with a numerous Army, Provision fail'd me, without the least Relief of all my Allies: and more then that, the Winter debarr'd me the benefit of the Sea. Thus without any molestation of the Enemy was I constrain'd to retreat into my own Kingdom, no less unfortunate in the Loss of the best of my Souldiers, together with my Fleets, that were Shipwrackt within sight of *Para* and *Heraclea*. But then having recruited my Army at

* *Now* Scutari *by* Constantinople.

* *Now* Penderachi *under the Dominion of the* Turks.

Cabira (a) after ſeveral Conflicts between Me and *Lucullus*, both Armies labour'd under preſſing Neceſſities. However *Lucullus* had at his devotion the Kingdom of *Ariobarzanes*, as yet untouch'd by War: I retreated into *Armenia*, all the Countries round about Me, being utterly deſtroy'd and laid waſt. At what time the *Romans* following not alone, but their Cuſtom of ſubverting all Kingdoms, becauſe the Nature of the Country would not ſuffer Multitudes to engage in ſet Battels, they boaſted the raſh imprudence of *Tigranes* for a Victory. Now conſider, I beſeech thee, whether if we ſhould be ſubdu'd, it would be advantageous any way to thee to make a more powerful Reſiſtance, or whether it be thy Opinion, that then the War will be at end. I know thee to be vaſtly Opulent, and ſtor'd, to infinite abundance, with Men, with Arms and Money. And for that Reaſon 'tis we covet ſuch an Aſſociate in the War; They, ſuch an Enemy for booty. But 'tis the judgment of *Tigranes*, while his Kingdom remains entire, that the War may be made an end of againſt an Enemy far from home, with little labour, by the Valour of my own well diſciplin'd and experienc'd Souldiers: ſince we can neither vanquiſh, nor be vanquiſh'd without hazard and prejudice to thy ſelf. Canſt thou be ignorant, that the *Romans*, after the Ocean had ſet limits to their Weſtern Conqueſts, turn'd the fury of their Arms upon theſe parts? That from the begining they ne'er had any thing but what they got by violence, not ſo much as their Wives and Houſes, much leſs their Lands and Empire? A medley of Vagabonds, having

(a) *The Royal Seat of Mithridates of which there remains no footſtep at this time.*

neither Country nor Kindred, born to be the Plague and Deſtruction of the whole World. Whom neither Laws divine nor human, no fear of Gods or Men can reſtrain from Ranſack, Ravage and Deſtruction both of Friends and Allies, whether remote or neighbours, Powerful or Indigent; profeſs'd and mortal Enemies of all Mankind, that are not Vaſſals to themſelves; of Soveraign Princes more eſpecially. For only few deſire Liberty, the greateſt Part are contented with juſt Maſters: So we are ſuſpected to be their Rivals, and dreaded perhaps leaſt we ſhould prove the future Chaſtizers of their Inſolencies. But thou, the Monarch of *Seleucia*, the biggeſt of Cities, and Soveraign Lord of *Perſia*, what canſt Thou from Them expect, but Treachery at the Preſent, and War hereafter? The *Romans* draw their Swords againſt all Nations, and People, yet moſt keenly ſharpen'd againſt thoſe, who being vanquiſh'd yield the richeſt ſpoils. By daring and deceiving and raiſing War, they are become Potent. By ſuch havocks and deſtructive Courſes as theſe, they will either extirpate all before 'em, or periſh themſelves; which Latter ſeems not ſo improbable to happen, if thou from *Meſopotamia*, and We from *Armenia* ſurround their Armies, wanting Proviſion and deſtitute of all Aſſiſtance; and only ſecure by ſome ſtrange favour of Fortune, through our own Diviſions or our Cowardice. And then will that Renown attend Thee, having ſuccour'd once two mighty Kings, to have ſubdu'd the grand Robbers of the Nations. Which I admoniſh and exhort thee to do, unleſs thou hadſt rather to our perdition, a while prolong thy ſingle Empire till they have leiſure to ſubdue thee, then be a Conqueror by our Alliance.

The Oration of C. Cotta *the Conſul to the People.*

MAny dangers, moſt worthy *Romans*, have befallen me in Peace, and as many Misfortunes have I met with in War; of which, ſome I have been forc'd to undergo, others I have warded off by the Aſſiſtance of the Gods and my own Vertue. In all which, neither my Courage was wanting to my Buſineſs, nor my Induſtry fail'd my Reſolutions. Adverſity and Proſperity made an Alteration in my Eſtate, but not of my Natural Inclinations. On the other ſide in theſe Calamities all things deſerted me, when Fortune left me. Moreover Old age, cumberſom of it ſelf, re-doubles my cares: conſidering my ſelf in that miſerable Condition, that it is not permitted Me to hope for ſo much as an honeſt death. For if I have been the Parricide of your ſecurity, and being born by Reſtoration from Exile, have diſhonour'd my Houſhold Gods, my Country and the higheſt Degree of Magiſtracy, what Torment can be thought ſufficient for Me living, or what puniſhment after my Deceaſe? From my firſt years of Adoleſcency, your Eyes were ſtill upon me both a private Perſon, and a Public Magiſtrate: They who deſir'd it had all my Elocution, my Advice, my Money at their Service; nor did I ever make a Crafty uſe of Eloquence to uphold the Knacks of Law, or Exerciſe my Parts in Miſchief. But covetous of private favour, was forc'd to bow under the weight of ponderous Animoſities for the good of the Commonwealth. At what time depreſs'd when ſhe was quite ſubdu'd, and expecting dayly

nothing but utter ruin, You, moſt worthy *Romans*, reſtor'd me to my Country, and my Houſhold Gods, with accumulations of Dignity. For which exceſs of Favours, I could not ſhew my ſelf too grateful, ſhould I for every ſingle Kindneſs expend as many Lives. For Life and Death are only Claims and Rights of Nature; but for a Man to live blameleſs among his fellow-Citizens, entire in his Fortunes and his Reputation, that's a gift kindly as well beſtow'd as acceptably receiv'd. You have made us Conſuls, moſt worthy *Romans*, now that the Commonweath is in a moſt diſtracted Condition. For the Generals in *Spain* demand Money, Souldiers, Arms and Proviſions: and 'tis but what neceſſity conſtrains 'em to: For that by reaſon of the revolt of our Allies, and the Flight of *Sertorius* among the Mountains, they neither can come to blows, nor get the neceſſary ſupports of Nature. The Exceſſive Power of *Mithridates* compels us to maintain great Armies both in *Aſia* and *Cilicia*. *Macedonia* is crouded with Enemies. Nor are the Maritime Coaſts of *Italy*, and the Provinces leſs infeſted. In the mean time our Tributes being ſmall, and by reaſon of the Wars, but ill and uncertainly paid, hardly defray a part of the Expences: So that we are forc'd to leſſen the number of our Ships that us'd to carry and convoy our Proviſions. Theſe things whether they befal Us through fraud or negligence do you conſider; and as you find it, puniſh the Offenders. But if it be a general Misfortune and Calamity that attends Us, wherefore is it that ye enterprize things both unworthy of your ſelves, of Us and the Commonwealth. For my own part, whoſe years are near the Precipice of death, I do not wiſh one minute longer of Life, if that might prove

prove the leaſt Advantage to your ſafety: not deeming this ſame free-born Body of mine can more be honour'd, then by ſubmitting to its diſſolution for your welfare. Here then behold the Conſul *Caius Cotta* ready: ready to do what oft our Anceſtors have done in times of dubious War. I freely devote and offer up my ſelf a Victim for the Commonwealth. Of which, to whom you afterwards ſhall recommend the Care, your ſelves be circumſpect. For no good Man will be covetous of ſuch an Honour, when either he muſt give an account of the ſucceſs of Peace or War by others carry'd on, or ſuffer ignominious death. Only remember this, that I was not cut off for acts of Villany or Avarice. but willingly ſurrendred up my Life in gratitude for exceeding favours. For your own ſakes therefore, moſt worthy *Romans*, and by the Glory of your Anceſtors I conjure ye, a while to be patient in your adverſity, and conſult the welfare of the Commonwealth. Great is the Care and many are the toyles that accompany ſupream Command; which in vain ye refuſe, yet ſeek the Opulency of Peace; when all our Provinces, Kingdoms, Seas and Lands are harraſs'd and tyr'd with the Calamities and Hardſhips of War.

Two * *Orations to* C. Cæſar *attributed to* Saluſt.

*MAny Learned Men have made a Queſtion whether theſe Orations were really written by *Saluſt* or no. But *Douza*, one of his Commentators ſtiffly maintains 'em to be the Genuine

Productions of the ſame Author. Nor are the Arguments he brings without great probability and reaſon. For he alledges not only the Conſent and Agreement of the *Vellum* Originals but the congruity of ſtile and cenſorious Notions, natural only to that Satyrical and Grave Hiſtorian. Further he aſſerts that there is not that Purity of *Latin* in *Tacitus*, beſides the vaſt difference between the Writers of the *Flavian* and *Julian* Times. Whereas it is objected that there is not the ſame conciſeneſs in theſe Orations as in the reſt of *Saluſt*'s Writings, that ſeems of little moment, ſince there can be nothing more conciſe nor more agreeable to *Saluſtian* brevity then the Stile and Language of theſe Orations. But the ſame Commentator miſlikes the Title of Orations: and that not without juſt Cauſe, ſince the Author himſelf gives them the Appellation of *Epiſtles*. *Forſitan*, ſays he, *Imperator, perlectis Literis, decernes*, &c. So that allowing theſe two ſmall Peices to be the Works of *Saluſt* and no other we ſhall only alter the Title, and call 'em,

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Two Epiſtles concerning the Ordering of a Commonwealth, directed to C. Cæſar.

The Firſt Epiſtle.

IT was the Common Opinion that formerly the *Roman* people by Fortune had Kingdoms and Empires, in her Gift, beſides thoſe other things which Mortal

Mortal Men ſo greedily thirſt after; becauſe they are frequently poſſeſs'd by Perſons without Deſert, conferr'd as it were at Will and Pleaſure, and never any Man could boaſt 'em ſtable and permament to himſelf. But experience has taught us how true it is what *Appius* tells us in his Verſes,

That every Man is the Architect of his own Fortune.

A ſentence more eſpecially verify'd in Thee, who haſt ſo far out-gone all others, that Men are tyr'd firſt with applauding thy Atchievements, ere thou art weary of performing Deeds deſerving Praiſe. But vertuous Acquiſitions like ſumptuous Edifices, are ſtill to be preſerv'd with ſedulous Induſtry; leaſt through negligence they run to decay, or fall to the ground, while the foundations fail. For no Man willingly ſurrenders Empire and Command to another; And though he be Juſt and Mild who is in Power, yet becauſe it is at his Choice to be rigorous and tyrannical, he is dreaded. This comes to paſs, becauſe the moſt that are in high Authority take wrong Meaſures, believing themſelves ſo much the more ſecure, by how much the more puſillanimous and ſervile the People are whom they Command. But quite the contrary to this ought chiefly to be aim'd at; that is to ſay, being Vertuous and Brave thyſelf, thou ſhouldſt endeavour to Command the beſt of Subjects: for he that is lewd himſelf impatiently brooks a Ruler. But thou haſt a more difficult Task then all that were before thee, to ſettle what thou haſt won by force of Arms. For thou haſt wag'd a War more ſoft and gentle then the Peace of others: beſides the Victors demand their Booty; and the vanquiſh'd are thy fellow-Citizens. In the midſt of theſe difficulties there is an honeſt *Medium* to be found out, that the Public Welfare may be eſta-

bliſh'd not by force, as a Foreign Enemy is curb'd, but which is more noble and much more difficult, by the profitable Arts of Peace. Therefore is this a Matter of ſuch importance, as ſummons together all Men, as well thoſe of great as of moderate Wiſdom, for every one to give the beſt advice he can. And indeed it is my Opinion that as the Victory is compos'd, the ſettlement of all other things will be the ſame. Now therefore that thou maiſt more readily and firmly order this Eſtabliſhment, accept of ſome few Notions that occur to my mind.

Thou hadſt a War, moſt Noble Emperour, with a Man Illuſtrious for his Birth, of vaſt Riches, moſt greedy of Superiority more *Fortunate then Wiſe. Of his Party were but few: ſome through their own Injuſtice became thy Enemies; others whom Affinity or other Obligations drew to his ſide. For never was any man a ſharer with him in the Supream Authority, which if he could have endur'd, the whole Terreſtrial Globe had never been ſo violently ſhaken with War. The Inferiour Multitude, more out of Cuſtom then judgment flock'd after him as, the more prudent Perſon.

* *Contrary to the Opinion of* Lucan *and* Cicero, *who ſay that* Pompey *had a good Cauſe, but that Fortune and the Gods were againſt him.*

At the ſame time, upon the ſcandalous rumors daily ſpread abroad, inflam'd with hopes of Uſurping the Commonwealth, many men contaminated with Lewdneſs and Luxury, reſorted to thy Camp; and openly threatned thoſe that were at Peace with Murders, Rapines, and all the worſt of Outrages to which their impious Minds could prompt 'em.

'em. Of whom the greateſt part, when they ſaw that neither their debts were paid, nor Fellow-Citizens by thee deſpoil'd and harraſs'd like Enemies, deſerted Thee: only ſome few remain'd, who thought the Camp would be a ſafer Place then *Rome*, where they were continually Dunn'd and Proſecuted by their Creditors. But for the ſame Reaſons, incredible it is to relate, both the Quality and the Number of Perſons that troop'd after *Pompey*; whom All that were in debt made uſe of, during the whole time of the War, as of a moſt ſacred and inviolable Sanctuary.

Therefore ſince now both War and Peace fall under thy Conſideration as the Victor, to the end thou mayſt gently and mildly ſurceaſe the one, and that the other may be juſt and permanent, meditate ſeriouſly with thy ſelf, at whoſe diſpoſal the Compoſition is, and what is moſt proper to be done. For my part I am apt to believe all cruel Dominations more oppreſſive then Diuturnal, not that any one ſingle Perſon can be dreaded by many, but that the ſame fear returns from many to himſelf. Such a Life wages a continual and doubtful War within a Man; for that being neither ſafe before, behind, or on either ſide, always thy Lot will be to live ſurrounded with fears and dangers: on the other ſide they who have temper'd the Severity of Command with Humanity and Clemency, to them all things have appear'd with a joyful and ſmiling Proſpect; by their Enemies more cheerfully obey'd and reverenc'd, then others by their own Subjects. Be there any who for this advice will deem me a Depraver of thy Conqueſt, or count me a well Wiſher to the Vanquiſh'd? Perhaps, becauſe it is my Judgment that what both we and our Fore-fathers have granted to Foreign Nations,

Nations, naturally our Enemies, are equally to be allow'd to Fellow-Citizens; and that neither Slaughter with Slaughter, nor Blood is to be aton'd with Blood after the manner of the *Barbarians*. Has Oblivion cancell'd thoſe Cruelties, that before this War were condemn'd in *Pompey* and *Sylla*'s Victory? He ſlew *Domitius*, *Carbo*, *Brutus*, and others that were Weaponleſs; not ſlain in Battel, according to the Laws of War, but Butcher'd afterwards when Suppliants with the greateſt Impiety imaginable: the Commonalty of *Rome* were Slaughter'd like Sheep in the Public Palace ordain'd for the Reception of Embaſſadors. Heavens! What hugger mugger Funerals of Citizens, what ſudden Maſſacres committed in the very Arms of Parents and Children! What flights of Women and Infants! What devaſtations of Houſes! Before the Victory by Thee obtain'd, nothing but Outrage, nothing but Cruelty enrag'd. To which the ſame Perſons exhort and ſpur thee on: inſinuating as if the Conteſt between you two had been, which ſhould have the abſolute diſpoſal of Oppreſſion and Injuſtice: that thou didſt not recover, but win the Commonwealth by force of Arms, and for that reaſon, the ſtouteſt and the oldeſt of the Souldiers were ſtill ready to take Arms againſt their Fathers, Brothers, nay their very Children; that ſo the moſt wicked of Mortals, from the Miſeries of others, might have wherewithal to ſupply the Expences of their Gluttony and exorbitant Luſt, or rather to be the Scandals and Reproaches of thy Victory; as being ſuch, whoſe Debaucheries were a Contamination to the Praiſes of good Men. For I cannot forbear to mind thee, what was their Behaviour and their Modeſty, even when

when it was *dubious which way Victory would encline and how, when the Enemy was in the field thoſe very Perſons abandon'd themſelves to Strumpets and Luxurious Banquets, whoſe Age in times of Peace could not without Reproach have pretended to the Taſt of ſuch immoderate Pleaſures. Thus much concerning War.

* *For* Cæſar *witneſſes, that in* Pompey's *Camp the Tents of the Captains were ſpread with* Perſian *Carpets and great Cupboards of Plate expos'd to view, That the Pavilions of* Lentulus *and others were cover'd with* Ivy; *perfect demonſtrations of their Luxury and confidence of Victory.*

Now as concerning the Eſtabliſhing a ſecure Peace; which is the preſent main Deſign of Thee and all thy Followers; Conſider I beſeech thee in the firſt place what it is thou art about to conſult: for ſo, by ſeparating the Good from the Bad, thou wilt proceed in the open way to Truth. 'Tis my Opinion, ſince all things that have a Beginning muſt have an End, that whenſoever the Fate of *Romes* deſtruction ſhall happ'n to approach her Walls, Citizens ſhall be engag'd in Civil Broyls with Citizens; at what time exhauſted and languiſhing for want of Blood, they will become a Prey to ſome Prince or Nation. Otherwiſe not the whole Globe of Earth, nor all the People of the World united and muſtred together, can either move or bruiſe this Empire. Therefore the Bleſſings of Concord are to be eſtabliſh'd upon ſure Foundations, and the Miſchiefs of Diſcord to be expell'd. That will ſo come to paſs, if you remove the Licence of expenſive Riot and Rapine. Not recalling antiquated Conſtitutions,

ſtutions, which upon the general Corruption of Manners are now become contemptible; but if you limit the Expences of every particular Family to the Condition of their Fortunes. For now, 'tis the prevailing Cuſtom for Young men to think nothing more brave and generous, then prodigally to waſt their own and the Eſtates of others; to deny nothing to their Pleaſures, or that they take for Gallantry and Magnanimity; deſpiſing Continency and Reſervedneſs, as the Effects of Cowardice.

Therefore a Haughty Diſpoſition, once launch'd into deſtructive Courſes, when his accuſtom'd Allowances fail, flies out, inflam'd with inconſiderate fury, ſometimes upon Allies, ſometimes upon his Fellow-Citizens; unſettles the compos'd Order of things, and by Old Practices of Villany ſeeks for New Diſturbances. Wherefore let not the Uſurer for the future be ſufferr'd any longer; that every one may mind his own affairs. That's the true and Plain way, to Officiate in the Magiſtracy for the Benefit of the People, not the Profit of the Creditor; and to ſhew Magnanimity in augmenting not diminiſhing the Common-wealth.

'Tis true, I know how difficult a thing this will be to accompliſh at firſt; eſpecially with thoſe who thought, when Conquerors, to have liv'd with greater Liberty and Licence, not under a more ſtrict Controul. For whoſe ſafety if you rather provide then to uphold their Luxury, you will ſecure both Them and Us and our Allies in a firm and laſting Peace. But if you ſtill connive at the ſame Practices and Debaucheries of our Youth, aſſuredly that High Renown of thine, and that Great City of *Rome*, will in a ſhort time fall to Ruin both together.

In

In the laſt place, Prudent Men make War for the ſake of Peace, and undergo hardſhips in hopes of reſt and leiſure. Until you fix and aſcertain that Tranquillity what matter is it, whether we are vanquiſh'd or Victors. Wherefore in the name of all the Gods, hold faſt the Helm of the Commonwealth, and boldly break through all Contending oppoſition as you were wont: for either you muſt heal us, or all Men elſe muſt lay aſide all thought of Cure. Neither does any Man incenſe ye to cruel Puniſhments, or diſmal Executions, by which a City is rather depopulated, then reform'd; but rather to reſtrain the vicious Practices and luxurious Debaucheries of the young Nobility and Gentry. That will be real Clemency, to have put a curb upon their Folly and falſe Pleaſures, that Citizens may not come to be deſervedly expell'd their Native Country; to have eſtabliſh'd Peace and Concord; not to have been always a Conniver at their preſent Enjoyments, which ſudden Sorrow follows at the heels; indulgent to Vice, and remiſsly permitting Offences. And indeed ſuch is my Courage, that it chiefly relies on that which ſcares and daunts moſt undertakers, the Difficulty of the Buſineſs. And becauſe you are now to reform the Diſorders both of Sea and Land and reſtore Tranquillity to the whole World (for ſuch a ſoaring Mind can never ſtoop to little things) the greater the care, the greater will be the recompence. Therefore your Care is mainly to be expended, that the Commonalty, corrupted with Bribes, and public diſtributions of Corn, may be ſo employ'd and kept from Idleneſs, as neither to have Leiſure nor Opportunity for Public Miſcheif: but that the Young Men may be enur'd to Probity and Induſtry, and not to hanker after vain Expence,

and

and Riches. Which may be effected, if you take away the abuſe and Reputation of Money, the chiefeſt Plague and Deſtruction of Human Kind. For often revolving in my Mind, by what means the moſt renowned Men attain'd their Greatneſs; what things had rais'd People and Nations to their moſt flouriſhing Eſtates; and laſtly what had occaſion'd the Ruin and Deſtruction of mighty Kingdoms and Empires, I ſtill obſerv'd that the ſame things were good, the ſame things Evil; and that always the Victors were Diſpiſers, the Vanquiſh'd always Covetous of Money. Neither can any Man exalt his groveling Thoughts, or Mortal as he is, attain Divine Perfections, unleſs neglecting the Delights of Gold and Bodily Enjoyments, he forbear to Flatter and pamper the Vanity of his Mind, to gratifie perverſe Deſire; but rather exerciſe it in Labour, Patience, wholeſom Precepts, and magnanimous Atchievements. For to build a City Houſe, or Country Palace, and furniſh 'em with Statues, Pictures, Perſian Hangings, and other ſumptuous Ornaments; and to make a Splendid Shew of all things but Himſelf; This is not to enjoy Riches as an Ornament, but for the Owner to make himſef a Reproach to his Wealth. Moreover they, whoſe Cuſtom it is twice a day to ſtuff their Paunches, and not a Night to ſleep without a Curtezan, when they have oppreſs'd with ſervitude the Mind which ought to Command, in vain expect to make uſe of it as duly exercis'd, when lame and drowſie. For through Imprudence they precipitate themſelves and moſt of their deſigns. But theſe and all other Miſchiefs will ceaſe with the Adoration of Money, when neither theſe Gaudy Pomps, nor any other Things ſo much thirſted after by Magiſtrates and Vulgar are any longer ſet to ſale.

More-

Morever care is to be taken that *Italy* and the Provinces may be more ſecure: wherein there is not ſo much difficulty neither. For the ſame Men lay all the Countries deſolate, deſerting their own Habitations, and through Oppreſſion ſeizing thoſe of other Perſons. Moreover let not the Stipends of the Souldiers, or their years of ſervice be either unjuſtly or impartially numb'er'd. While ſome are * compell'd to ſerve out thirty Stipends or Years of Duty, others ſcarce oblig'd to one. And let the Corn, which was formerly the reward of Sloath and Cowardice, be diſtributed through the Municipal Towns and Colonies, to the diſmiſs'd Veteranes returning home after the expiration of their Stipends. And thus as conciſely as I could I have declar'd my thoughts of what I deem'd either advantageous to the Public, or to your Honour; and now it may not ſeem amiſs to ſpeak ſomething in Juſtification of this preſumption.

* *Which occaſion'd that terrible Sedition in* Germany, *mention'd by* Tacitus *in the firſt of his Annals.*

Moſt men have wit enough, or think they have, to cenſure others; and every one is forward and quick to find fault with the deeds and ſayings of other Men; their Mouths are ſcarce wide enough, nor their Tongues ſufficiently nimble to troul out the haſty Conceptions of their Envy or their private diſguſt; Though notwithſtanding all the Blaſts of their cenſorious Deſcants, I do not at all repent me of the Enterprize; rather it would have been a trouble to me to have been ſilent. And now the Beſt of my wiſhes only remain behind that whatſoe're thou ſhalt decree, the Immortal Gods may well approve, and Crown with happy Succeſs.

The

The * *Second Epiſtle to* C. Cæſar, *concerning the ordering of a Commonwealth.*

* THis Epiſtle ſhews the great Familiarity between *Cæſar* and *Saluſt*, and ſeems to have been written before his expedition into *Spain* againſt *Petreius* and *Afranius*, or at leaſt in the ſeat of the War.

I Am not ignorant, how difficult and dangerous and Attempt it is to give Counſel to a Prince or Emperor. or indeed to any Man, who ſits in the Upper Region of great Authority; Conſideriug that they can neither want Adviſers, and that no man is ſufficiently circumſpect or prudent to foreſee future Events. Beſides, oft-times it ſo falls out that precipitate and evil Counſels are attended with more proſperous ſucceſs. then the moſt grave and ſerious of deliver'd Opinions, by reaſon Fortune rules the World at Pleaſure. I muſt confeſs, when I was Young, my Inclinations lead me to the management of Public Affairs; and my greateſt Care and Study was to underſtand the depth of thoſe Myſteries. Not only that I might appear great in Offices and Employments of high Dignity, which many had obtain'd by wicked and corrupt means; but that I might be acquainted with the true State of the Commonwealth both at home and abroad, and what her intrinſic ſtrength might be of Warlike Proviſions, of Men and Money. At length revolving many things in my Mind, I determin'd to prefer your Dignity before my own Reputation and Reſerv'dneſs, and to run any hazard that might be advantageous to your Honour. Nor did I make this Reſolution raſhly, or in Adulation

lation of your good Fortune; but becauſe in you I obſerv'd, one particular Excellency above all the reſt, to be egregiouſly admir'd; I mean, a greater Courage always in Diſaſter, then in Proſperity. But this is ſtill no more then what is yet more manifeſt from other men, who are tyr'd with applauding and admiring your Munificence, before you are weary of performing Deeds deſerving Fame Immortal. And I am firmly perſwaded there is nothing ſo ſublime or ſo profound, but what is within the eaſy reach of your thoughts. Nor have I ſent ye my Opinion and Judgment concerning the ordering of a Commonwealth, as having a higher conceit then becomes me of my Advice and Parts; but becauſe I thought it neceſſary in the midſt of Military Toyls, in the hurry of Battels, Victories and high Command, to retrieve back your thoughts, ſometimes to the Conſideration of Civil Affairs.

For if it be your only deſign to ſecure your Perſon from the violence of your Enemies, or how to retain the favour of the People, that you may be able to cope with the Conſul, you harbour thoughts unworthy of your Courage. But if your Magnanimity ſtill continue ſuch, as from the beginning diſturb'd the Faction of the Nobility; recover'd the *Roman* People out of heavy Bondage into Liberty; that during your Pretorſhip, unarm'd and naked as you were, out-brav'd and daunted the inſulting Fury of the Enemy; and both at home and abroad perform'd ſo many and ſuch far fam'd Exploits, that your very Adverſaries have nothing to object againſt ye but your Greatneſs; vouchſafe to accept theſe few Notions of Mine, touching the Grand Concerns of the Commonwealth, which you will find to be true, or at leaſt not far

remote from Truth. For ſince that *Pompey* either through overſight, or elſe becauſe he car'd not what he did to obſtruct your Proceedings, fell into ſuch a Fatal Error, as to put Weapons into the hands of his Enemies, by the ſame means that he brought all things out of Order, the ſame Courſes muſt you take to reſtore Tranquillity to the Commonwealth.

In the firſt place he reſign'd his abſolute Power of diſpoſing of the Imperial Revenue, the Public Expences and the Penal Laws into the hands of a Few Senatours: but as for the *Roman* Commonalty, in whom the Supream Power was veſted before, he left 'em without ſo much as the Relief of Common Juſtice. For Cauſes and Actions are ſtill committed to the determination of the three *Orders*, yet the ſame ſmall Number of Tyrants are above all, govern all, place and diſplace as they think fit; They circumvent and oppreſs the Innocent; and advance their own Tools and Favourites to Honour. Neither Iniquity nor Scandal, nor the moſt hainous of Crimes are any obſtruction, to debar their aſſuming Offices of Truſt and Dignity: Whatever is commodious and profitable they haul and tear away by violence: Laſtly, as if the City were taken by Aſſault, abſolute Will and licencious Domineering are the only Laws they will endure. And yet it would not grieve me much thus ſervilely to be enthrall'd, according to their uſual Practice, had they obtain'd the Victory by their Bravery and Valour. But it perplexes me to ſee the moſt ſloathful among Mortals, all whoſe Vigor and Courage lies in their boaſting Tongues, inſolently exerciſing a Tyranny offer'd 'em by Chance, and through the Remiſſneſs of another. For what Civil Sedition and Diſſention ever extirpated

ted ſo many and ſuch Illuſtrious Families? Or whom did ever Victory ſo precipitate and render ſo enormouſly Outragious? *L. Sylla*, who had ſome pretence as a Victor, to plead the Laws of War in juſtification of his Cruelty, though he knew his Intereſt, could no way better be ſecur'd then by the Capital Puniſhment of his Enemies; yet after he had put ſome few to death choſe rather to reſtrain the reſt by Clemency then Fear. But now, beſides *Cato*, *L. Domitius* and others of the ſame Faction, above Forty Senators, and many Young Gentlemen of great Hopes have been ſlaughter'd like Victims on the Altar; and yet the moſt cruel of all Mankind, cannot be ſatiated with the Blood of ſo many miſerable Fellow-Citizens. Neither Orphans, nor aged Parents, not the Moans of Men, nor the Lamentations of Women could mollify their inexorable Inhumanity: but every day more violent then other, and raging both in Word and Deed, ſome they degraded from their Dignities, while others were expell'd their Native Country. Nay what ſhall I ſay of You your ſelf, whoſe ignominious fall the baſeſt of Men, were it permitted 'em, would purchaſe with the loſs of their own Lives? Whoſe Tyranny is not ſo great a Pleaſure to 'em (though it befel 'em unexpected) as your high Dignity a Grief and Diſturbance to their Minds. Men that would rather chooſe to bury their own Liberty in your Calamity, then that the Empire of the People of *Rome* ſhould by your means of Glorious be made the moſt Glorious in the World: So much the more then it ought to be your daily care to fortify and eſtabliſh your own Intereſt. For my part what my own thoughts are, I will not be afraid to utter: 'tis in your prudence only to make Trial of what you think moſt probable and beneficial.

The City, according to what I have heard from my Anceſtors, I take to be divided into two Parts; the *Fathers*, and the *Common People*. Formerly the Chief Authority reſted in the *Fathers*; but the greater Force by far was in the People. Thence frequent Seceſſions in the City, and ſtill the Power of the Nobility leſſen'd; but the Privileges of the People were enlarg'd. By that means the Commonalty liv'd in Freedom, becauſe the Power of no Man was above the Law: the Noble ſurpaſs'd the ignoble not in Wealth or Pride, but in Reputation and valiant Exploits. Every one alike humble at the Plough or in War, wanting nothing of honeſt and neceſſary accomodation, thought he had ſufficient to ſerve himſelf, enough to ſerve his Country. But when expell'd by degrees from their Poſſeſſions, Lazineſs and Poverty compell'd 'em to ſeek uncertain Habitations, then they began to thirſt after other Mens Eſtates, and to ſet to ſale, both their Liberty and the Commonwealth. Thus inſenſibly the People, then the Lords of many Nations, dwindl'd into Contempt; and inſtead of Empire in Common, every particular Perſon procur'd his own Slavery.

This Multitude therefore, firſt infected with ill Manners, then diſpers'd into ſundry Trades and Courſes of Life, no way united among themſelves, ſeems to Me by no means fit to manage the Commonwealth. But being intermixt with new Citizens, my mind gives me, that ſo, they may be all awaken'd and rouz'd up to Liberty; while the one would be careful to preſerve their Freedom, the other glad to ſhake off the Fetters of their Servitude. Theſe Citizens thus blended, old and new together, my Judgment is, you ſhould diſtribute into *Colonies*. By which means your Militia,

Militia will become more Numerous, and the Common People, honeſtly employ'd, will forbear crowding after Miſchief and Sedition.

But yet I am not ignorant, when this is put in Execution, what Storms and Tempeſts the Nobility will raiſe; how they will rage and clamour, that things are turn'd Topſie Turvy; that the antient Citizens are enſlav'd; and laſtly that there will be a change of the Government, from a Free State into a Monarchy, when by the favour of one ſingle Perſon an infinite Multitude ſhall be admitted ſharers of the City Privileges. However I am firmly convinc'd that he admits a wicked Crime into his Boſom, who to the diſadvantage of the Public welfare ſtrives for the favour of a Private Faction. More eſpecially where the Public good redounds to particular Benefit, to heſitate in ſuch an Enterprize, I look upon to be the greateſt mark of Sloath and Cowardice immaginable.

It was always the Deſign of *M. Livius Druſus*, in his Tribuneſhip, to contend with all his might, for the Nobility: nor did he intend at the beginning to have acted any thing of Importance, but in purſuance of their Decrees. But certain Factious Perſons prizing Fraud and Malice above Honeſty and Fidelity, when they underſtood that by the Means of one Perſon ſo great a Benefit would accrue to ſuch a vaſt number of People, every one, Conſcious to himſelf of his own wicked and Treacherous Diſpoſition, had the ſame ill Opinion of *Druſus* as of themſelves. Therefore afraid, leaſt by ſo great a Favour he ſhould get the ſole Power into his hands, contriving all they could to hinder him, they broke the Neck of his and their own Deſigns together.

Therefore, Noble Emperor, 'tis your Buſineſs to make a more Induſtrious Proviſion of Friends and Guards, all Perſons of approv'd Integrity. 'Tis no great difficulty for a Man of Courage and daring Boldneſs to ſuppreſs an Open Enemy; but the beſt of Men as they ſcorn the Contrivance, ſo are they leſs eaſily induc'd to ſuſpect, and conſequently ſhun occult and treacherous Stratagems.

For this reaſon when you have introduc'd thoſe new Members into the City, becauſe the Commonalty will be then recall'd, ſtudy to your utmoſt the Introduction likewiſe of good and laudable manners; and by Concord to Unite the new and old together. But a far greater Benefit will accrue to your Country, your Citizens, your ſelf, your Offspring, and laſtly to all Mankind, if you can but quench that Immoderate Thirſt of Gold, or at leaſt abate it to that degree that the Seaſon of Reformation will bear. Otherwiſe it will be impoſſible to regulate either private Miſdemeanors or public Abuſes, either at home or abroad. For where the raging Deſire of Riches has once got Footing, neither Diſcipline, nor Vertuous Induſtry, nor Generous Ingenuity can ever Flouriſh; but early or late, at laſt the Soul will Flag, and Languiſh under the Burthen of looſe Temptations.

I have often heard what Kings, what Cities and Nations once grown Opulent, have loſt great Empires, which when Indigent, they won by their Courage: which is no Miracle at all. For when a ſtout man ſees another weaker then himſelf more Illuſtrious for his Wealth; more cring'd to and courted, he's chaf'd at firſt; and with a thouſand Agonies torments his mind:

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At length, as every day more and more Desire of Glory vanquishes Honour, and Opulency overcomes Vertue, the Mind revolts from Truth to Pleasure. For Glory is cherish'd by Industry; take that away, Vertue of it self, becomes bitter and unpleasant. Lastly, where Riches are in high Esteem, all things good and sacred then are undervalu'd, Fidelity, Integrity, Shame and Modesty. For to Vertue there's but one, and that a steep and rugged Passage: to Money, every Body chuses the Road that likes him best; for Wealths acquir'd as well by honest as by evil Practices.

Therefore in the first place take away the Reputation and Authority of Money: for no Man will make a Judgment this or that way in Point of Life or Honour; when 'tis apparent that neither Pretors or Consul are created according to their wealth, but as they Merit. However in the choice of Magistrates let the Election of the People be free. Where the Judges are approv'd by few, it is an Argument of Royalty; to choose 'em for Money, is dishonest. Wherefore I could wish that all the Judges were of the first Classis, but more in number then at this time. For neither the *Rhodians* nor any other Cities ever repented of their Determinations, where Rich and Poor promiscuously, as they came into Court, debated as well the most Important as the slightest Affairs. But as to the Creation of Magistrates, I think I may without absurdity commend the Law, which *C. Gracchus* propounded to the People in his Tribuneship, that the *Centuries* should be summon'd out of the five *Classes*, without any premeditated Choice or Order; by which means being alike equal in Dignity and Wealth, they would strive to excel one another in Vertue; and these I deeme to be the chief-

ſeſt Remedies againſt Riches. For all things are applauded or deſir'd, according to the Uſe which is made of thoſe things: Rewards are the incentives to Wickedneſs; take away the Hire, there's no Man will do an evil Act for nothing. But Avarice is a Savage, cruel and intolerable Monſter; wherer'e it bends its Bulky force, it tramples and lays waſte whole Cities, Fields, Temples, Houſes; turns all things both Divine and Humane into a Chaos and Confuſion; neither Armies nor Walls can withſtand its Fury: in a word it robs all Mankind of their Reputation, Chaſtity, Children and Parents. But take away the Glory of Money, and that impetuous Force of Avarice will ſoon be vanquiſh'd by good Manners. And tho all Mortal men both juſt and unjuſt, know theſe things to be true, nevertheleſs you will have a ſharp Combat with the Faction of the Nobility; whoſe Wiles and Stratagems if you can warily eſcape, the reſt will ſucceed of courſe, according to your Wiſhes. For theſe Men, had they but ſo much Courage, would rather emulate, then envy the brave and generous. But being totally poſſeſſed with Idleneſs, Stupidity, and Cowardice, they make a noiſe, detract and look upon the Reputation of another to be their Diſgrace. But wherefore ſhould I make more words as if I ſpoke of Men that were unknown to the World? The Fortitude and Valour of *M. Bibulus* made open way to the Conſulſhip; one that ſcarce had the uſe of his Tongue; and for his Parts, more wicked then crafty. How far can ſuch a one preſume to dare, to whom the Conſular Dignity, the higheſt of Commands was but a meer Diſgrace? Can greater Abilities be aſcrib'd to *L. Domitius*, a Man that has not a Member, but what is contaminated with Villany and laſcivious Intemperance?

perance? A boasting Vain-glorious Tongue; Hands embru'd in Blood; Heels nimble and speedy in flight; besides his other Incontinences not proper to be nam'd. *Cato*'s the only Person among 'em, whose Parts are not to be contemn'd, a Crafty, Talkative, Double-dealing Fox, the Effects of *Grecian* Education: but neither Industry, Vertue or Vigilancy are to be found among the *Greeks*. For can it be imagin'd, that they who have lost their Liberty through sloth at Home, should be able to instruct others to command? The rest of the Faction are a Crew of noble Drones; who Statue-like, besides the Name, can Challenge nothing else of worth but Form and Feature. *L. Posthumius*, and *M. Favonius* seem to me like the superfluous Lading of some great Fly-boat, which if the Vessel arrive safe in Harbour, may be some way useful, but in a Storm are the first undervalu'd things thrown over-board. And now, having thus far, to my own thinking, sufficiently discours'd the Point of renewing and reforming the Commonalty, I shall speak somewhat of what may seem proper to be done in reference to the Senate.

So soon as I grew Ripe in years and understanding, I was not so much for Exercise of Arms, or managing of Horses, but rather for the studious part of Learning: that is to say, finding where my strength lay, I betook my self to the Labours of the Brain. During which retirement, by reading and hearing much, I found that all Kingdoms, Cities, Nations, were prosperous so long, and flourish'd in Command, while they were guided by True and uncorrupted Counsels: but that when those Counsels came to be tainted once by Favour, fear or Interest, soon after their Power decay'd; in the next place, they lost their Dominion, and lastly were enslav'd.

enſlav'd. And therefore 'tis my abſolute Opinion, that whoever is advanc'd to a more Conſpicuous and Illuſtrious degree in his City, above all things, ought to be more eſpecially careful of the public Welfare. For all the reſt are only ſafe in their Liberty, ſo long as the City is ſecure: They who by their Vertue have acquir'd Riches, Honour, and Authority, when they perceive the Common-wealth in a declining Poſture, they are preſently alarm'd, and their reſtleſs Minds are vex'd with various Cares and Toyls: they are preſently for defending their Honour, their Liberty or their Eſtates: they beſtir themſelves, they are here and there, all in a hurry; The more they flouriſh'd in Proſperity, the more grievouſly and impatiently they brook Adverſity. Therefore when the Commonalty obeys the Senate, as the Body ſubmits to the Soul, and reſpectfully execute their Commands, it behoves the Fathers to be able in Councel; for ſubtilty and cunning are ſuperfluous in the People. Our Anceſtors therefore, when low reduc'd by dangerous and cruel Wars, after they had loſt their Men, their Horſes, and their Money, were never weary of contending with their Swords in their hands for the Empire. Neither want of Treaſure, nor the prevailing Power of the Enemy, nor threatning Calamity could ſubdue their generous Courages, but that what they had won by their Valour they reſolv'd to defend to the laſt drop of Blood. Which they did rather by ſage and prudent Counſels, then fortunate in Battel. For among them there was but one Common-wealth: for the Welfare of that they all conſulted: Faction was contriv'd and ſow'd among their Enemies. All Men exercis'd their Bodies and their Wits for the good of their Country, not to advance their own private Intereſt. But

But now the Caſe is alter'd; the Nobility, poſſeſs'd with ſloth and Cowardice, knowing neither what Hardſhip, Enemies or Warfare mean, meditating nothing but Faction at home, proudly Lord it over all the Nations. Thus the Fathers, by whoſe prudence the tottering Eſtate of the Commonwealth was formerly re-eſtabliſh'd, now under Oppreſſion, are driven fluctuating this way and that way, with the Tyrannick blaſts of Will and Pleaſure; ſometimes they decree one thing, then another: as if they thought there were no other public Good or Evil, but what the private Grudges or the Arrogancy of their Lords and Maſters dictated. Whereas if all had equal Liberty, or the Decrees were render'd leſs Authentic: The Commonwealth would grow more powerful; the Nobility leſs potent. But becauſe it is impoſſible to pleaſe all Men, or to level the Degrees of Quality and Birth, while the Nobility enjoy the Acquiſts of their vertuous Anceſtors, Honour, Dignity and numerous Tenants; on the other ſide the multitude are for the moſt part ignorant and illiterate, let 'em be free in the Delivery of their Opinions. Thus the Power of others no way reaching themſelves, and conſequently leſs diſcernable, will be the more eaſily brook'd. The good as well as the bad, the Coward and the Valiant, all are deſirous of Liberty. But the more ſilly ſort of Men, which are the greateſt part, deſert it out of Fear: and while the conflict is dubious, before the Victory be won, baſely ſubmit their Necks as vanquiſh'd to the Yoke of Servitude.

Therefore in my Opinion, there are two ways to reſtore the dignity of the Senate: Firſt, that the number of Perſons being augmented, they may be order'd to

to deliver their Votes in * Tables.

* *Of theſe Tables two were to be given to every Senator; in the one of which were written theſe two Letters* U. R. *or, Let it be as you ask: in the other a great Roman* A. *They that lik'd the Decree threw into a little Cheſt for that purpoſe the firſt Tablet; they that diſlik'd it the latter with the* A. *that is,* Antiquo, *I deny it. The Tables thus caſt in were number'd, which and which, and then the difference of both ſides ſet down in another void Table in little Pricks or Dots: Thus neither could any Man recal his Vote; nor could it be known who was for or againſt the Decree.*

The Tables will be a means that every Man may be bold to uſe his Freedom: In multitude there will be more aſſurance, and ampler Benefit. For now adays it falls out ſo, that many being taken up in hearing public Controverſies, others employed in ſoliciting their own and the private Affairs of their Friends, there are few that attend the Concerns of the Public. Beſides that many times it is not buſineſs ſo much, as the Commands of their domineering Superiours, which deter 'em from making their Appearances. The Grandees forſooth, with ſome few of the *Senatorian* Order, Chips of the ſame Block, They are the Men that whatſoere they pleaſe to approve, revoke, anull, decree, and then at Pleaſure put in execution. But when after the number of the Senators ſhall be augmented, they ſhall be forc'd to give their Votes by Tables, you ſhall find they will lay their Loftineſs aſide, when they muſt be obedient to thoſe, o'er whom before they Tyrannouſly domineer'd.

Perhaps, moſt noble Emperour, upon reading theſe Letters, you may deſire to know, what number

ber of Senators I think ſufficient, and how they may be diſtributed into ſundry and various Employments; and becauſe 'tis my Opinion that the Judgments of the firſt *Claſſis* ought to be abrogated, what number of Judges, what Method of Election may be moſt convenient? To every one of which particulars, it would be no difficult thing to return an Anſwer; but it behoves us firſt to diſcharge our ſelves of the grand Concern of Counſel, and to aſcertain the Truth of what we have deliver'd in that Point. If you reſolve to make uſe of this Method of proceeding; there will be little Difficulty in what comes after. 'Tis my deſire, that my Advice may be both wholſome and profitable. For then according to your Succeſs my Reputation will extend it ſelf. But that which I am much more zealous for at preſent is this; that the Commonwealth may be reliev'd and regulated as ſoon as may be, let the Manner and the Methods be what they will, Liberty is that which I more highly prize then Honour. And therefore, moſt renowned Emperour, I beſeech and beg it of ye, that ſince the Gallic Nation is ſo happily ſubdu'd, you will not ſuffer the mighty and invincible Empire of the *Roman* People to conſume away with Age, or by Diſcord and Diſſention to be diſſolv'd. For ſhould that come to paſs, aſſuredly neither Day or Night would eaſe the Anguiſh of your Mind; but ſtill a reſtleſs Fury, that were would give ye leave to cloſe your Eyes, would be the Torment of your latter days. For I am certainly * convinc'd, that the Lives of all Mankind are ob-

* *Some think theſe Exhortations of* Saluſt *to* Cæſar, *proceeded from his believing him addicted to the* Epicurean *Sect, as* Cato *ſeems to inimate in his Speech againſt* Catiline.

obſerv'd by the All-ſeeing Eye of the Divine Deity: that there is an account taken of all the good or evil Deeds of Men: and that naturally various rewards attend the good and bad. Perchance they move with a ſlower pace; yet every man hopes according to his Conſcience. Certainly had your Country and your Progenitors the Liberty to diſcourſe ye, they would uſe no other then theſe Expreſſions. Oh *Cæſar*, we moſt valiant Men begate thee in a moſt noble City, to be to Us our Honour and Protection, a terrour to our Enemies. What we, with many Hardſhips and Dangers won, that we deliver'd to thee as ſoon as born, together with thy Life; the moſt renowned Country upon Earth; the moſt illuſtrious Family in all that Country: a vertuous Education, and Riches honeſtly obtain'd: moreover all the Dignities of Peace, and the rewards of War.

For theſe moſt extraordinary Kindneſſes we do not require from thee, any Act of Lewdneſs or Impiety; but to reſtore our Liberty ſubverted. Which being once perform'd, the Renown of thy Vertue will ſwiftly fly through all the habitable World. For as yet, tho thy Atchievments have been famous both in Peace and War, however thy Glory is but equal with that of many other illuſtrious Perſons. But if thou doſt reſtore almoſt from utter Ruin, a City the moſt celebrated for its Name and large extent of Empire, who will be more renown'd, who more illuſtrious upon Earth? But if otherwiſe it befal this Empire through thy lingring Sickneſs or Death, who ſo ſtupid not to dread the Devaſtations, Wars and Slaughters that will ravage all the Nations of the World.

Thus if you have an honeſt Intention to gratifie your Country and your Anceſtors, ſucceeding

Ages

Ages enjoying the fruits of your Labours, and living in Peace and Liberty, will pay their acknowledgments to Your Vertue, and your Death will prove far more Illuſtrious then your Life. For the Living ſometimes Fortune, ſometimes Envy worries; but when Life has paid the debt of Nature, Detraction ceaſing, Vertue more and more exalts it ſelf. And thus what I thought neceſſary to be done, and advantageous to Your ſelf as briefly as was poſſible, I have laid open; beſeeching the Immortal Gods, that whatſoever courſe you take, all your endeavours may be Crown'd with proſperous Succeſs for your own good and the welfare of the Public.

The Declamation of C. Criſpus Saluſtius *againſt M.* Tullius Cicero.

I ſhould not eaſily be induc'd to brook thy ſcurrilous Reproaches, *Marcus Tullius*, if I thought it were not rather the diſtemper of thy Mind, then thy Judgment that provok'd thee to this Petulant Humor. However, becauſe I find, thou haſt neither Moderation nor Modeſty, I will vouchſafe thee an Anſwer; to the end that if thou haſt taken any Pleaſure in Obloquy, thou maiſt be quit of it, by being ſharply told thy own. Where ſhall I complain? To whom ſhall I make my Moan, moſt noble *Conſcript Fathers*, that the Commonwealth is rent in pieces, and obnoxious to the Treachery of every Audacious Sycophant? Muſt it be to the People of *Rome* ſo corrupted with Bribes and Exhibitions, that they put both themſelves and all their Fortunes to Sale? Or to you, moſt noble

Conſcripts

Conſcript Fathers, whoſe authority is the ſcorn of every lewd and wicked Rakeſhame? More eſpecially when *M. Tullius* defends the Laws and Judicial Proceedings of the *Roman People*, and Governs in this Senate, as if he were a Branch of the Renowned *Scipio Africanus*, and not an Upſtart, an Inn-mate, and but lately admitted to the Privileges of this City. Thinkſt thou, *Marcus Tullius*, thy Words and Actions are unknown to the World? Haſt thou not ſo liv'd from thy Childhood, as not to believe any thing a Defilement to thy Body, which another took delight in? Did it not coſt thee the loſs of thy Chaſtity to learn that Scolding Eloquence of thine from *M. Piſo*? No wonder then that thou putſt it as ignominiouſly to ſale, as thou didſt lewdly purchaſe it. But I am apt to believe, thy Domeſtic Splendor elevates thy Thoughts: Thy Sacrilegious Wife, beſmear'd with Perjury: Thy Daughter a Whore, that goes ſnips with her Mother, more gameſom and obedient, then is decent, to a Father: Thy Houſe thou gotteſt by Violence and Rapine, fatal to thee and thine; as if it were to let us underſtand, how ſtrangely this City is ranvers'd, while thou the moſt vile of Men, Uſurp'ſt the Habitation of *M. Craſſus*, once a Conſular Perſon.

Which being ſo, yet *Cicero* makes his Braggs, that he hath ſate in Council with the Immortal Gods; and thence that he was hither ſent a Guardian, and Protector of the City; not to give him the Title of Hangman, who derives his Glory from the Public Calamity: as if thy Conſulſhip were not the Cauſe of that Conſpiracy; and the Commonwealth half ruin'd, when ſhe had Thee for her Preſerver.

But perhaps thoſe things advance thee more,

Which

which in Conſultation with thy Wife *Terentia*, after thy Conſulſhip, were acted by thee for the Public good: when at home ye contriv'd the Judgements of thy * *Plautian* Law; condemning ſome of the Conſpirators to death; and fining others. When one built up the *Tuſculanum* for thee, another the *Pompeian* Country Palace; another purchas'd thee a City Houſe. But he that could do nothing, he was ſure to be accus'd; ether he came to ſtorm thy Houſe; or he had plotted to Murder the Senate; in ſhort, thou hadſt evidence enough againſt him. If I accuſe thee falſely, give an account how thou cam'ſt by ſuch an Eſtate; what were thy Gettings by bawling and wrangling at the Bar? where thou hadſt the Money to erect thoſe ſumptuous Edifices, the *Tuſculanum*, and the *Pompeianum*? Or if thou haſt nothing to ſay, who can be ſo ſilly as to doubt, thou didſt rake thy Wealth out of the Blood and Bowels but of thy fellow Citizens?

* *Which enacted the choice of Judges from among the Common People, fifteen out of every Tribe.*

But perhaps this Upſtart of *Arpinum*, deſcended from the Family of *C. Marius*, imitates his Courage; contemns the private grudges of the Nobility; takes care of the *Roman* People neither terrify'd by Threats; nor coax'd with Favour. But is this an Argument of his Amity and Vertue? A very probable Story: the moſt inconſtant of Men, a Cringer to his Enemies, contumelious to his Friends; ſometimes of this, ſometimes of that ſide; faithful to no body; a Shuttlecock of a Senator; a Mercinary Patron; no part of whoſe Body is free from the Contamination of Lewdneſs: a vain Tongue, rapacious Hands, an Abyſs like Throat, and ſpeedy

Heels to run' for his Life: qualities ſo lewd, that 'tis a ſhame to name 'em. Yet being ſuch as we have here deſcrib'd him, this very Man is not aſham'd to boaſt and cry

O Fortunate Rome, *re-born when I was Conſul!*

Fortunate when thou wert Conſul, *Cicero*! rather unhappy and miſerable, which ſuffer'd the moſt cruel Proſcription of her Citizens; when thou, in the Diſtractions of the Commonwealth, conſtrained'ſt all good Men, diſmay'd with fear to obey thy Tyranny; when all Penal proceedings, all the Laws were in thy hands; when after thou hadſt abrogated the *Porcian* Law, and made a Rape upon our Liberty, Thou hadſt aſſum'd to thy ſelf the Power of all our Lives and Deaths.

But 'tis not enough that thou haſt done what thou haſt done unpuniſh'd; thou put'ſt us always in Mind of it; and throweſt it in our Teeths: we are not permitted to forget our Slavery. Prethee, Good *Cicero*, be contented with what thou haſt acted; Pride thy ſelf in what thou haſt accompliſh'd: 'tis enough that we have been the ſufferers. But why ſhouldſt thou ſtill load our Ears with what we hate, thy odious Name? Wilt thou perſecute us with thy preſumptuous ſurquedry?

Arms yield to Gowns, and Lawrels to the Tongue.

As if thou hadſt perform'd thoſe things of which thou boaſts, not arm'd, but with thy hands in thy Gown ſleeves; or that there were any difference between thee and *Sylla* the *Dictator*, but only the Title of Command.

But why ſhould I talk any more of thy Inſolence? whom

whom *Minerva* inſtructed in all the Sciences, the Mighty *Jupiter* admitted into the Council of the Gods; and *Italy* when baniſh'd, brought back upon her Shoulders. I beſeech thee, dear *Romulus* of *Arpinum*, who haſt ſurmounted in Valour all the *Paulus*'s, *Fabius*'s, and *Scipio*'s, what Office doſt thou hold in this City? what Faction Suits with thy Humour beſt? What Friends, what Enemies haſt thou? The lewdeſt in the City are thy Friends, thy Enemies all thoſe that love the Commonwealth. The Perſons, whom fain thou would'ſt have betray'd in the City, thou courteſt like a Courteſan. Elſe, returning out of Exile from *Dyrrachium*, wherefore didſt thou follow them? They who were Tyrants formerly, their Grandeur now delights thee: They who were thy Patriots before, are now Mad-men, and Lunaticks. Thy Tongue is oyl'd for *Vatinius*: *Sextius* is a Knave. Thou mak'ſt nothing, ſawcily to wound the Reputation of *Bibulus*; but *Cæſar*'s extoll'd. Him whom thou couldſt have eaten once, obſequiouſly now thou fawn'ſt upon. Thou think'ſt one thing ſitting, another ſtanding, of the Commonwealth: a Hair-brain'd Fugitive, that knows not where to put his Confidence.

The END.

Ex Libris
Gulielmi Tyther
Anno 1720